

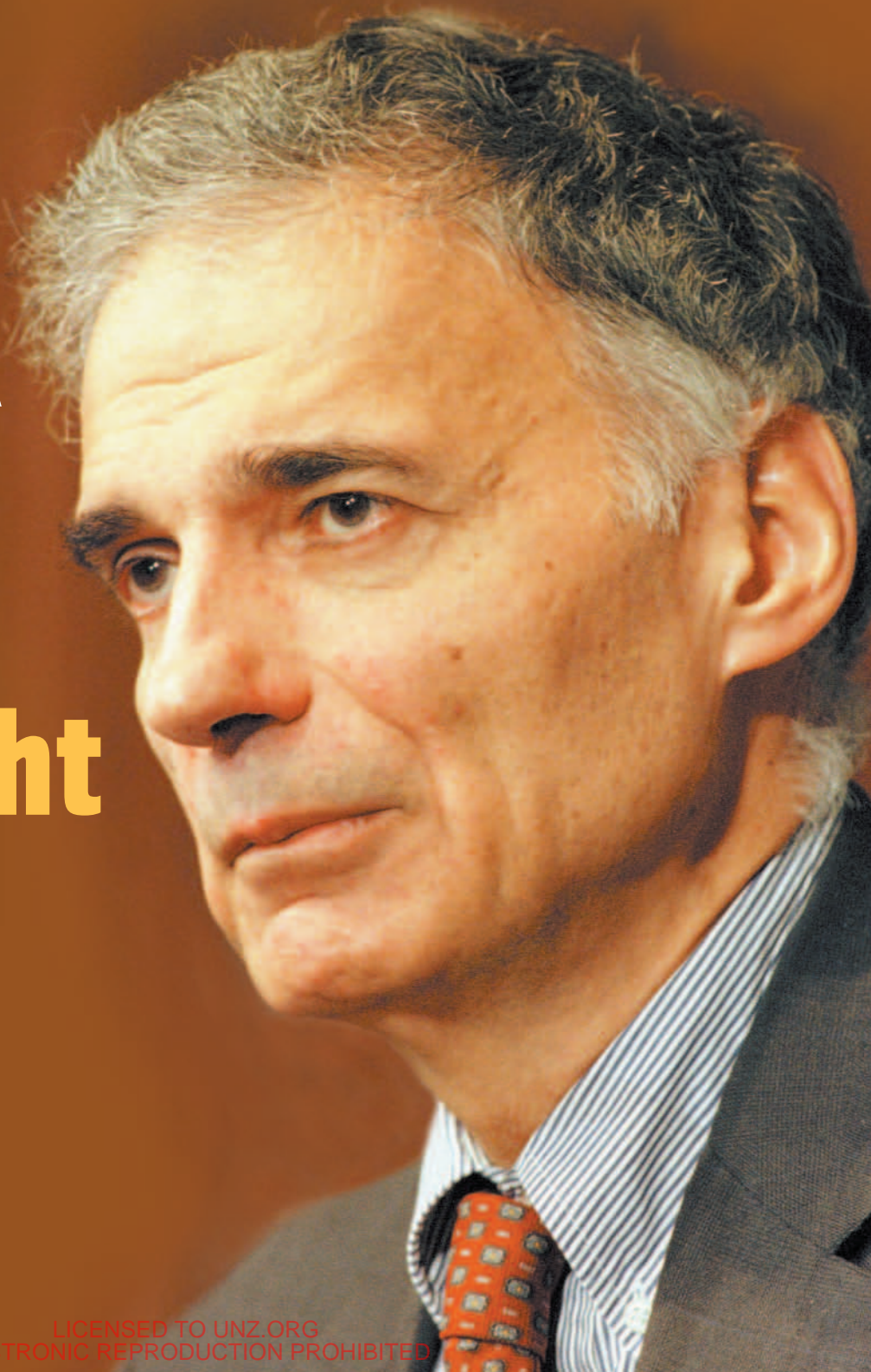
**OWEN HARRIES: THE PERILS OF HEGEMONY**

JUNE 21, 2004

# The American Conservative

## **RALPH NADER** **Makes a Play for The Right**

**An interview with  
Pat Buchanan**



*Editor's Note: In his last column, Pat Buchanan asked to hear from readers about TAC's presidential endorsement dilemma. These replies are representative.*

## PROCESS OF ELIMINATION

Pat asks "What does TAC do?" (June 7) Well, I cannot see giving the nod to the current occupant of the world's highest office. The lies he told regarding Iraq alone ought to bar an endorsement. And let's not forget that his administration is stocked to the rim with neocons who have grander plans for our troops and our tax dollars. No thank you. Clearly John Kerry is no prize, but he may be the only thing between us and perpetual war. On the other issue of the day, immigration, it's a tie. No matter who wins, America loses.

BILL SHANNON  
*Elmhurst, Ill.*

## THIRD PARTY CONSERVATIVE

I would encourage TAC to do as I and many other conservatives are doing and support Michael Peroutka, the presidential candidate for the Constitution Party. He is running on the issues of defending the borders, stopping free trade, bringing the boys home, and stopping abortion. He is the only conservative candidate who will be on the ballot in 40+ states.

JONATHAN GRUBBS  
*Sanford, Fla.*

## AMERICA FIRST

Pat requested input on the presidential endorsement. I'm backing Nader. He is seriously confused in many ways, but I think in his heart he puts America first—ahead of Israel, India, and China.

BILL POLONEY,  
*Cinaminson, N.J.*

## FOUR MORE YEARS

There is no other choice. You know it and I know it. Steady leadership in times of change: President Bush! I urge you and readers of *The American Conservative* to vote for President Bush!!

GEORGE W. REED  
*Richmond, Va.*

## BREATHE FREE OR DIE

I can tell you this 65-year-old who cast his very first vote for "In Your Heart You Know He's Right" Barry Goldwater has decided not to vote at all. This decision has not been made lightly, but I simply refuse to be held captive again to those who believe that holding your nose while voting for the lesser of two evils ought to be enough to garner my vote. It is bad enough to be told to hold one's nose while voting for the president, but I feel as though I have been holding my nose for four years already.

R. MOFFITT  
*via e-mail*

## OLD HABITS DIE HARD?

As a faithful liberal reader, I know that every issue of TAC would lead a nonpartisan to conclude that this presidency has been an unparalleled disaster. Even to question whether or not to oppose Bush shows that the chow bell has rung and it's time to line up at the trough.

PHILIP MARQUIS  
*Lower Gwynedd, Pa.*

## THE LBJ OPTION

The solution to this horrible dilemma is for President Bush and Vice President Cheney to acknowledge their obvious mismanagement and withdraw from the upcoming election—a truly courageous and honorable thing to do for their country. Such a selfless act is the only opportunity they're going to have for history to recall them in a positive way.

JOHN A. CURRY  
*Columbus, Neb.*

## GETTING IT STRAIGHT

I read your article (May 24), about the American Embassy in Bucharest and would like to correct some misinformation carried in the Romanian newspaper *Bucharest Business Week* and repeated indirectly in the article.

Your article implies that I and others in the U.S. Embassy approved Kurt Treptow's appointment to the Fulbright Commission Board of Directors knowing that he was a pedophile. This is not true. Treptow was asked to join the

Board as he had had a Fulbright grant, had been in Romania for years, and ran an academic publishing center. None of us knew anything about Treptow's other activities and would certainly not have appointed him if we had.

The scandal about Treptow's pedophilia broke some months after he had joined the Board. It is a sad episode, but it did not happen in the way *BBW* alleges. The article similarly repeats *BBW's* allegations about "publications" of my work by Treptow's center being related to influence peddling. I was invited to present a paper on the role of the American Center in Bucharest in the 1980s, but there was no money involved and no "influence peddling."

Why has *BBW* been making these charges? Perhaps because Sean Hillen, its editor, was on the Fulbright Board and headed the search committee for the position of director. After selecting candidates to be interviewed, Mr. Hillen put his own application forward. He was not chosen for the position.

Almost immediately he began a dirty campaign against the embassy. *BBW's* circulation is minimal, but having the allegations appear in the pages of a respectable American magazine is another matter entirely.

KIKI SKAGEN MUNSHI  
*via e-mail*

## RELIGION OF PEACE?

I am disappointed in the defeatist and pacifistic articles appearing in *The American Conservative*. You don't have to like David Frum to understand that the West's confrontation with radical Islam is a real clash of civilizations. Please stop always taking the Muslims' side.

Muslim extremists are murdering our people all over the world. Even without Israel/Palestine, the Muslims have many countries that are exclusively their own. We don't have to give them ours.

JOHN ELLIS  
*Harvard, Ill.*

*The American Conservative* welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to [letters@amconmag.com](mailto:letters@amconmag.com) or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209.



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

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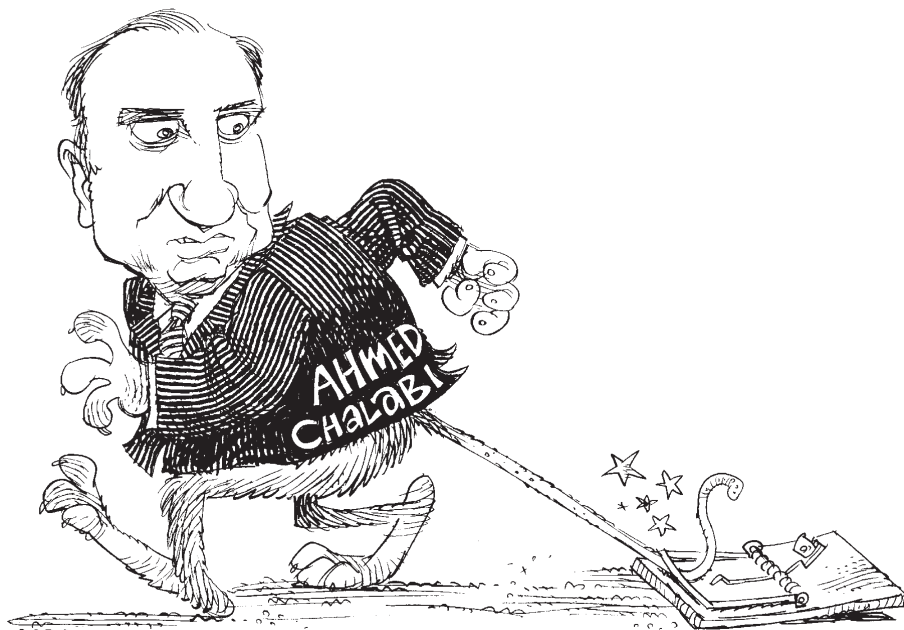
## BENEDICT BLEEPING ARNOLD, PERHAPS

*Pace*, David Frum, but Ahmed Chalabi is no “James bleeping Madison.” Far from building a country, on his word we leveled one—and paid him over \$33 million for the privilege.

Just five months ago, the self-described “hero in error” was watching the State of the Union as a guest of First Lady Laura Bush. Now comes word that Iraqi police, accompanied by U.S. soldiers, have raided his home, seizing computers and files.

This isn’t the first cloud to pass over the Pentagon’s pick to run postwar Iraq. Chalabi, who hadn’t lived in Iraq since childhood, was convicted in Jordan of embezzling \$22 million and his weapons “intelligence” has proved an elaborate farce. Yet we escorted him into Baghdad, put him in charge of the new Finance Ministry, and until recently paid \$340,000 per month for his questionable services.

With *Newsweek* reporting that “Chalabi and his entourage told Iranian contacts about American political plans in Iraq” and with word out that the leaked documents came from Doug Feith’s office, this would seem a good time for the neocons to reconsider their taste in friends. But so far they seem unburdened by fact or sound strategy. *National Review Online* published a piece by Michael Rubin slamming “inside-the-beltway rumor mongering [that makes] clear the irrational contempt and ignorance that many professional pundits feel for any proponent of Arab democracy.” He defends Chalabi—or tries, insofar as “he has never kissed the hand of Saddam Hussein” might be considered a defense—and attacks Paul Bremer, who authorized the raid, for “playing the politics of personal vendetta.” Ditto neocon darling Laurie Mylroie, who condemns the “outrageous, and totally uncalled for, raid” and asks



her first good question, “Just what is the U.S. doing in Iraq?” For his part, Chalabi maintains that he is still “America’s best friend in Iraq”—which may mean that we’re in deeper trouble than we realize.

[POLITICS]

## FOXMAN VS. FRITZ

In a *Charleston Post and Courier* op-ed that was unusually pointed for sitting senator, Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) parsed the reasons given for George W. Bush’s loopy decision to invade Iraq. One by one Hollings went over them—the so-called al-Qaeda tie, Baghdad’s nuclear weapons program, the idea that Iraqis would welcome American troops with open arms. None hold up under scrutiny, and Hollings now wonders if Bush and Co. really believed their own case for war. But there is one reason, Hollings observed, that does make sense—both for domestic political reasons and in neocon strategic terms: invade Iraq in order to remake the Middle East for Israel’s benefit.

The domestic political plus for George Bush was confirmed by the rapturous reception he received at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee’s annual Washington conference in mid-May. (The president’s boilerplate speech was interrupted 67 times by standing ovations.) Democratic strategists mope off the record that Bush’s real target is not

Jewish voters—a comparatively small number—but Jewish donors, who make up an estimated 50-70 percent of the Democratic Party’s large contributors. If Bush can partially neutralize them by catering to Ariel Sharon’s wishes, the Democratic Party would be in sorry competitive shape.

The Mideast strategic gambit is less concrete, but the basic idea is that if the U.S. would establish an Iraqi regime that made peace with Israel on Sharon’s terms—a neocon fantasy that Ahmed Chalabi successfully exploited in his many years inside the Beltway—how would Israel not be delighted?

Hollings’s exercise in political analysis caused an instant uproar. The ADL’s Abe Foxman demanded that the senator “disavow” his remarks. Why on earth should he? There may be something incorrect or unbalanced in Hollings’s analysis—but if so, let Foxman point it out and criticize it rather than flinging around discussion-ending accusations about “age-old anti-Semitic canards.” Free speech should be the American way, especially about an issue as important as the Iraq disaster.

[ECONOMICS]

## DON’T BANK ON IT

To a businessman’s ears, offshoring customer-service call centers may seem like sweet music. But to customers it sounds

more like a cacophony of mangled English delivered in Punjabi accents. So reports a British industry analyst, ContactBabel, which found that every seventh customer who called an offshore service center was so dissatisfied that he took his business elsewhere. According to ContactBabel, British banks might save \$9.26 million a year by outsourcing 1,000 call-center jobs to India. But that savings would be wiped out if just 0.343 percent of customers switched to another bank as a result. In fact, last year, 1.09 percent of British bank customers did just that, according to *Direct Marketing Bulletin*, making offshoring a money-losing proposition.

#### [BELTWAY] **EX-FRIENDS**

Some Beltway conservatives believe that President Bush's base will remain enthusiastic despite the deteriorating situation in Iraq and the administration's budgetary profligacy. But a recent Zogby poll found that nearly one Republican voter in five hasn't yet committed to supporting the president's re-election.

Robert Novak claimed in his syndicated column that Donald Devine, a veteran activist and vice chairman of the American Conservative Union, is such a Republican. While some swooned at Bush's keynote address to the ACU's 40th anniversary dinner, Devine reportedly was not impressed.

This revelation elicited an angry letter from ACU chairman David Keene, who demanded Devine's resignation. "I found it offensive," Keene lectured, "and no longer consider you either a personal friend or a friend of ACU."

Devine disputed elements of Novak's story, saying that he did not refuse to shake the president's hand or to applaud at the ACU dinner, and wrote Bush an apologetic letter. But he has published a number of articles on his organization's website honestly assessing shortcom-

ings of the administration's record on spending, war, and immigration. The conservative movement would profit from more principled nonpartisan analysis and less mindless Republican cheerleading and presidential hero-worship.

#### [SOCIETY] **WHAT CULTURE WAR?**

When it comes to the war in Iraq, Max Boot—formerly of the *Wall Street Journal*, now a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations—is a hawk and an optimist. But Boot recently made it known in the pages of the *Los Angeles Times* that he can be a dove, too—at least as far as the culture war is concerned. Planting democracy in the sandy soil of Iraq is a piece of cake; not so, however, preventing gay marriage from becoming the law of the land in the United States itself. Opponents of same-sex marriages, writes Boot, "argue ... that we shouldn't tamper with thousands of years of tradition ... But 141 years ago we tampered with an equally old tradition: slavery." Other arguments against gay marriage, on moral, religious, or sociological grounds, are just as ineffectual by Boot's reckoning. So, he says, "Republicans would be wise not to expend too much political capital" on this issue. "They will only make themselves look 'intolerant' to soccer moms ..."

There are two problems with Boot's position. One, of course, is its easy acceptance of same-sex marriage—and it is marriage that Boot is talking about; civil unions will not cut it for him. The other and, really, equally serious problem is the willingness to forgo an important political debate simply so that the Republican Party can avoid looking intolerant. A country that cannot have an honest debate over as important an institution as marriage is in serious trouble. Tell us, Max, shouldn't the United States have a little democracy, as well as the Middle East? ■

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# Ralph Nader: Conservatively Speaking

The long-time progressive makes a pitch for the disenfranchised Right.

*Ralph Nader recently accepted Pat Buchanan's invitation to sit down with us and explain why his third-party presidential bid ought to appeal to conservatives disaffected with George W. Bush. We think readers will be interested in the reflections of a man who has been a major figure in American public life for 40 years—and who now finds himself that rarest of birds, a conviction politician.*

**PAT BUCHANAN:** Let me start off with foreign policy—Iraq and the Middle East. You have seen the polls indicating widespread contempt for the United States abroad. Why do they hate us?

**RALPH NADER:** First of all, we have been supporting despots, dictators, and oligarchs in all those states for a variety of purposes. We supported Saddam Hussein. He was our anti-Communist dictator until 1990. It's also cultural; they see corporate culture as abandoning the restraints on personal behavior dictated by their religion and culture. Our corporate pornography and anything-goes values are profoundly offensive to them.

The other thing is that we are supporting the Israeli military regime with billions of dollars and ignoring both the Israeli peace movement, which is very substantial, and the Palestinian peace movement. They see a nuclear-armed Israel that could wipe out the Middle East in a weekend if it wanted to.

They think that we are on their backs, in their house, undermining their desire to overthrow their own tyrants.

**PB:** Then you would say it is not only

Bush who is at fault, but Clinton and Bush and Reagan, all the way back?

**RN:** The subservience of our congressional and White House puppets to Israeli military policy has been consistent. Until '91, any dictator who was anti-Communist was our ally.

**PB:** You used the term “congressional puppets.” Did John Kerry show himself to be a congressional puppet when he voted to give the president a blank check to go to war?

**RN:** They're almost all puppets. There are two sets: Congressional puppets and White House puppets. When the chief puppeteer comes to Washington, the puppets prance.

**PB:** Why do both sets of puppets, support the Sharon/Likud policies in the Middle East rather than the peace movement candidates and leaders in Israel?

**RN:** That is a good question because the peace movement is broad indeed. They just put 120,000 people in a square in Tel Aviv. They are composed of former government ministers, existing and former members of the Knesset, former generals, former combat veterans, former heads of internal security, people from all backgrounds. It is not any fringe movement.

The answer to your question is that instead of focusing on how to bring a peaceful settlement, both parties concede their independent judgment to the pro-Israeli lobbies in this country because they perceive them as determining the margin in some state elections and as sources of funding. They

don't appear to agree with Tom Friedman, who wrote that memorable phrase, “Ariel Sharon has Arafat under house arrest in Ramallah and Bush under house arrest in the Oval Office.”

Virtually no member of Congress can say that, and so we come to this paradoxical conclusion that there is far more freedom in Israel to discuss this than there is in the United States, which is providing billions of dollars in economic and military assistance.

**PB:** Let me move on to Iraq. You were opposed to the war, and it now appears that it has become sort of a bloody stalemate. You said you would bring troops out of Iraq within six months. What if the country collapses and becomes a haven for terrorists? Would you send American troops back in to clean it up?

**RN:** Under my proposal there would be an international peacekeeping force, and the withdrawal would be a smart withdrawal during which there are internationally supervised elections. We would have both military and corporate withdrawal because the Iraqi people see the corporations are beginning to take over their economy, including their oil resources. And we would continue humanitarian assistance until the Iraqi people get on their feet. We would bring to the forefront during the election autonomies for Kurds, Sunnis, and Shi'ites. So this would not be like a withdrawal in Vietnam where we just barely got out with the helicopters.

**TAC:** You often mention corporations. What is the theory behind this or what

are the alternatives to corporate economic power? I presume you are not talking about state ownership or socialism, or perhaps you are ...

**RN:** Well, that is what representative government is for, to counteract the excesses of the monied interests, as Thomas Jefferson said. Because big business realizes that the main countervailing force against their excesses and abuses is government, their goal has been to take over the government, and they do this with money and politics. They do it by putting their top officials at the Pentagon, Treasury, and Federal Reserve, and they do it by providing job opportunities to retiring members of Congress. They have law firms that draft legislation and think-tanks that provide ready-made speeches. They also do it by threatening to leave the country. The quickest way to bring a member of Congress to his or her knees is by shifting industries abroad.

Concentrated corporate power violates many principles of capitalism. For example, under capitalism, owners control their property. Under multinational corporations, the shareholders don't control their corporation. Under capitalism, if you can't make the market respond, you sink. Under big business, you don't go bankrupt; you go to Washington for a bailout. Under capitalism, there is supposed to be freedom of contract. When was the last time you negotiated a contract with banks or auto dealers? They are all fine-print contracts. The law of contracts has been wiped out for 99 percent of contracts that ordinary consumers sign on to. Capitalism is supposed to be based on law and order. Corporations get away with corporate crime, fraud, and abuse. And finally, capitalism is premised on a level playing field; the most meritorious is supposed to win. Tell that to a small inventor or a small business up against McDonald's or a software programmer up against Microsoft.

Giant multinational corporations have no allegiance to any country or community other than to control them or abandon them. So what we have now is the merger of big business and big government to further subsidize costs or eliminate risks or guarantee profits by our government.

**PB:** Let's move to immigration. We stop 1.5 million illegal aliens on our borders each year. One million still get through. There are currently 8-14 million illegal aliens in the United States. The president is mandated under the Constitution to defend the States against foreign invasion, and this certainly seems to constitute that.

**RN:** As long as our foreign policy supports dictators and oligarchs, you are going to have desperate people moving north over the border.

Part of the problem involves NAFTA. The flood of cheap corn into Mexico has dispossessed over a million Mexican farmers, and, with their families, they either go to the slums or, in their desperation, head north.

In addition, I don't think the United States should be in the business of brain-draining skilled talent, especially in the Third World, because we are importing in the best engineers, scientists, software people, doctors, entrepreneurs who should be in their countries, building their own countries. We are driving the talent to these shores—

**PB:** How do we defend these shores?

**RN:** I don't believe in giving visas to software people from the Third World when we have got all kinds of unemployed software people here.

Let's get down to the manual labor. This is the reason the *Wall Street Journal* is for an open-borders policy: they want a cheap-wage policy. There are two ways to deal with that. One is to raise the minimum wage to the purchasing-power

level of 1968—\$8 an hour—and then, in another year, raise it to \$10 an hour because the economy since 1968 has doubled in production per capita.

**PB:** Say we went to \$10 an hour minimum wage. It is 50 cents an hour in Mexico. Why wouldn't that cause not 1.5 million, but 3 million to head straight north where they could be making 20 times what they can make minimum wage in Mexico?

**RN:** Because 14 million Americans are unemployed or part-time employed who want full employment or have given up looking for jobs. The more the minimum wage goes up, the more they will do so-called work that Americans won't do. They are not going to do it at \$5.15 an hour and have another used car, another insurance policy, another repair bill to get to work, but they are much more likely to do it at \$10 an hour.

The second is to enforce the law against employers. It is hard to blame desperately poor people who want to feed their families and are willing to work their heads off. You have to start with Washington and Wall Street.

**PB:** Should illegal aliens be entitled to social-welfare benefits, even though they are not citizens and broke into the country?

**RN:** I think they should be given all the fair-labor standards and all the rights and benefits of American workers, and if this country doesn't like that, maybe they will do something about the immigration laws.

**PB:** Should they be entitled to get driver's licenses?

**RN:** Yes, in order to reduce hazards on the highway. If you have people who are driving illegally, there are going to be more crashes, and more people are going to be killed.

**PB:** The Democrats have picked up on



Bush's amnesty idea and have proposed an amnesty for illegals who have been in the country for five years and who have shown that they have jobs and can support themselves. Would you support the Democratic proposal?

**RN:** This is very difficult because you are giving a green light to cross the border illegally. I don't like the idea of legalization because then the question is how do you prevent the next wave and the next? I like the idea of giving workers and children—they are working, they are having their taxes withheld, they are performing a valuable service, even though they are illegally here—of giving them the same benefits of any other workers. If that produces enough outrage to raise the immigration issue to a high level of visibility for public debate, that would be a good thing.

**PB:** The U.S. population now—primarily due to immigrants and their children coming in—is estimated to grow to over 400 million by mid-century. Would that have an adverse impact on the environment?

**RN:** We don't have the absorptive capacity for that many people. Over 32 million came in, in the '90s, which is the highest in American history.

**PB:** What would you do about it?

**RN:** We have to control our immigration. We have to limit the number of people who come into this country illegally.

**PB:** What level of legal immigration do you think we should have per year?

**RN:** First of all, we have to say what is the impact on African-Americans and Hispanic Americans in this country in terms of wages of our present stance on immigration? It is a wage-depressing policy, which is why the Chambers of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, Tyson Foods, and the *Wall Street Journal* like it. The AFL-CIO

has no objection to it because they think they can organize the illegal workers—

**PB:** They switched.

**RN:** —because they have been so inept at organizing other workers. There is hardly a more complex issue, except on the outside of the issue, the foreign policy, the NAFTA—

**PB:** I was going to ask you about NAFTA and the WTO—

**RN:** Sovereignty shredding, you know. The decisions are now in Geneva, bypassing our courts, our regulatory agencies, our legislatures.

**PB:** I find it amazing that Congress sits there and they get an order from the WTO, and they capitulate. What happened to bristling conservative defiance, “don't tread on me” patriotism? I think the problem is that a lot of these guys in Congress—I think some of them are basically good guys. But I went up there and was asking about some issue, and they would say things like, “I don't even know what it is about. My boss tells me ...”

**RN:** Did you hear about my challenge to Senator Hank Brown?

We put a challenge out before WTO was voted in 1995 because we went all over Capitol Hill and had never found any Member of Congress or a staffer who had ever read the proposal. So I said, “I'll give \$10,000 to the favorite charity of any Member of Congress who will sign an affidavit that he or she has read the WTO agreement and will answer 10 questions in public.”

The deadline passed. Nobody. So I extended it a week. A quarter to 5:00 on Friday, the phone rings in our office. It is Hank Brown, and he said, “I don't want the \$10,000 to charity, but I will take you up on it. How much time do I have?” I said, “Take a month.” So he reserves the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the interrogation.

It gets better. The press is all there, and in the witness chair is Hank Brown. We have 12 questions, and he answers every one. They weren't all simple either. It was really impressive. And I said, “Thank you very much. That was really commendable,” and we start to get up and he says, “Wait. I have something to say.” He says, “You know, I am a free trader, and I voted for NAFTA, but after reading the WTO agreement, I was so appalled by the anti-democratic provisions that I am going to vote against it and urge everyone else to.”

The next day, almost no press. It shows you the bias against anybody who challenges those multinational systems of autocratic governance that we call “trade agreements.” And he didn't convince one extra senator.

Once when I testified before the House Ways and Means Committee, I had to say some nice things at the beginning, “Mr. Chairman, distinguished Members of the House Ways and Means Committee, it is indeed a pleasure to testify before a committee of Congress that has read this proposed trade agreement,” and the chair looks up and says, “What makes you think we did?”

Let's put it this way: it is impossible to exaggerate the dereliction of diligence in the Congress.

**PB:** Can we move on to taxes? Reagan cut the top tax rate from 70 percent to 28 percent in terms of personal income taxes. Clinton raised it to 39.6. Bush has cut it back to 35 percent. What do you think is the maximum income-tax rate that should be imposed on wage earners?

**RN:** Zero under \$100,000. Now you got to ask me how I am going to make —

**PB:** What is the rate above \$100,000? What is the top rate?

**RN:** Then you have a graduated rate. Thirty-five percent, in that range, for the top rate. It comes down to the loopholes.



When it was 70 percent, did you ever meet anybody who paid 70 percent?

Now, where would I make it up? This is where the creativity comes in. I would move the incidence of taxation, first, from work to wealth. So I would keep the estate tax, number one.

**PB:** You restore the estate tax to 55 percent?

**RN:** That is a little extreme.

**PB:** That is where Bush has it, 55, and he is cutting it down gradually to zero. What do you think it should be?

**RN:** Again, 35 percent.

**PB:** Would this be on all estates?

**RN:** No. Estates above \$10 million.

**PB:** Ralph, you are not going to raise much money with this tax.

**RN:** There will still be a tax on smaller estates. I think all estates over, say, \$500,000 should pay some tax. The estate tax as a whole raises about \$32 billion a year, but the thing is the loopholes. Buffett, as an example, won't pay because all of it is going to his foundation.

I think we should have a very modest wealth tax. I agree with the founder of the Price Club, who thinks it should be 1 percent.

**PB:** One percent of your wealth each year would be turned over to the federal government?

**RN:** Right. Then the third shift is why don't we tax things we like the least? We should tax polluters. We should tax gambling. We should tax the addictive industries that are costing us so much and luring the young into alcoholism and tobacco and drugs. And we should tax, above all, stock and currency speculation.

**PB:** A short-term capital gains tax?

**RN:** Like a sales tax. If you go to a store and buy furniture, you pay 6, 7, or

whatever percent. You buy 1,000 shares of General Motors, you don't pay anything. So what we are doing is taxing food and clothing but not the purchase of stocks, bonds, derivatives, and currency speculation. A quarter-of-a-cent tax will produce hundreds of billions of dollars a year because of the volatility. You remember the days when 3 million shares on the New York Stock Exchange was a big day? Now it is 1.5 billion shares.

The point is this: work should be taxed the least. Then you move to wealth, and then you move to things we do not like. And you will have more than

England, who are perfectly capable of defending themselves against nonexistent enemies.

**PB:** Let me move to the social issues. Would you have voted against or in favor of the ban on partial-birth abortion?

**RN:** I believe in choice. I don't think government should tell women to have children or not to have children. I am also against feticide. If doctors think it is a fetus, that should be banned. It is a medical decision.

**PB:** Between the woman and her doctor—

WE ARE PRESENTLY **DEFENDING PROSPEROUS NATIONS** WHO ARE PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THEMSELVES AGAINST **NONEXISTENT ENEMIES**.

enough to replace the taxes of under \$100,000 income and to provide for universal health insurance and decent public transit and to repair the public-works infrastructure.

**PB:** So you have got a \$500 billion deficit now, and the early baby-boomer retirements start in 2008, and by 2012, the whole Clinton-and-Bush generation gets Medicare and Medicaid. These are the biggest payers into these so-called trust funds. They are also going to be the biggest drawers out, and 77 million of them retire in 2030. So how do you balance that budget?

**RN:** You repeal Bush's two tax cuts in 2001 and 2003. Then you get out of Iraq, and you cut the waste and the shenanigans out of the military contracting. That would more than take care of the deficit.

**PB:** You bring the troops home from Europe and Korea and the Balkans?

**RN:** We are presently defending prosperous nations like Japan, Germany, and

**RN:** And whoever else, family, clergy.

**PB:** Should homosexuals have the same right in law to form marriages and receive marriage licenses from the state as men and women?

**RN:** Yes, and if you had that, you wouldn't have to use the word "marriage." The reason "gay marriage" is used is because state laws connect certain benefits with that word. As a lesbian leader was quoted saying in the *New York Times* a few weeks ago, the issue is not the word "marriage." The word is "equality."

**PB:** Let's go to politics. If you had not been in the race in 2000, who would have won?

**RN:** That requires me to be a retrospective clairvoyant. If I wasn't in a race, would the Democrats have gone all-out to get out the vote in certain states because they were worried about the percentages I was drawing? And if I was not in the race, would Gore have made populist statements day after day—"I am for the people, not the powerful"—

which polls showed brought him more votes than if he went to Lieberman's semantic route?

Having said that, exit polls showed 25 percent of my votes would have gone to Bush, 38 percent would have gone to Gore, and the rest would have stayed home and not voted. A month and a half ago, a poll came from New Hampshire that showed that 8 percent were for me: 9 percent Republicans, 11 percent independents, 4 percent Democrats.

**PB:** If you hurt Bush more than Gore, why are the Democrats trying to keep you off the ballot?

**RN:** Because they will forever think that my progressive policies will take more Democrat votes and independent votes than they will take from the other side.

**PB:** If you got 15 percent of the vote this time, who do you think would be the next president of the United States?

**RN:** I don't know how it would break.

**PB:** Let me ask you about your ballot position because it was around this time that we were wrapping up getting on the ballot in all 50 states. How many ballots are you on right now?

**RN:** None yet, but we'll be on more than 43 states, which is the number we had last time. We want to get on them all. The problem is, we haven't concentrated on the easy states.

**TAC:** Is there any circumstance in which you can come to an arrangement with Kerry campaign not to run?

**RN:** The time to drop out is before you drop in. You cannot build a national campaign and get tens of thousands of volunteers working their hearts out and then in October feed the cynicism of American politics by cutting some sort of deal. The answer is no.

**PB:** What are the reasons a conservative should vote for Ralph Nader?

**RN:** Well, largely—

**PB:** Rather than Kerry.

[Laughter.]

**RN:** I'm not expecting conservatives to change their minds on certain issues that we disagree on, but if we look at the issues where we have common positions, they reach a level of gravity that would lead conservatives to stop being taken for granted by the corporate Republicans and send them a message by voting for my independent candidacy.

Here are the issues. One, conservatives are furious with the Bush regime because of the fantastic deficits as far as the eye can see. That was a betrayal of Bush's positions, and it was a reversal of what Bush found when he came to Washington.

Conservatives are very upset about their tax dollars going to corporate welfare kings because that undermines market competition and is a wasted use of their taxes.

Conservatives are upset about the sovereignty-shredding WTO and NAFTA. I wish they had helped us more when we tried to stop them in Congress because, with a modest conservative push, we would have defeated NAFTA because it was narrowly passed. If there was no NAFTA, there wouldn't have been a WTO.

Conservatives are also very upset with a self-styled conservative president who is encouraging the shipment of whole industries and jobs to a despotic Communist regime in China. That is what I mean by the distinction between corporate Republicans and conservative Republicans.

Next, conservatives, contrary to popular belief, believe in law and order against corporate crime, fraud, and abuse, and they are not satisfied that the Bush administration has done enough.

Conservatives are also upset about

the Patriot Act, which they view as big government, privacy-invading, snooping, and excessive surveillance. They are not inaccurate in that respect.

And finally, two other things. They don't like "Leave No Child Behind" because it is a stupidly conceived federal regulation of local school systems through misguided and very fraudulent multiple-choice testing impositions.

And conservatives are aghast that a born-again Christian president has done nothing about rampant corporate pornography and violence directed to children and separating children from their parents and undermining parental authority.

If you add all of those up, you should have a conservative rebellion against the giant corporation in the White House masquerading as a human being named George W. Bush. Just as progressives have been abandoned by the corporate Democrats and told, "You got nowhere to go other than to stay home or vote for the Democrats," this is the fate of the authentic conservatives in the Republican Party.

I noticed this a long time ago, Pat. I once said to Bill Bennett, "Would you agree that corporatism is on a collision course with conservative values?" and he said yes.

The impact of giant corporations, commercialism, direct marketing to kids, sidestepping parents, selling them junk food, selling them violence, selling them sex and addictions, selling them the suspension of their socialization process—years ago conservatives spoke out on that, but it was never transformed into a political position. It was always an ethical, religious value position. It is time to take it into the political arena.

**PB:** Well, it's a pleasure. Thank you very much for coming over, Ralph.

**RN:** Thank you very much. ■

# Iran Builds a Bomb

Will joint U.S.-Israeli attacks be Bush's October Surprise?

By Eric S. Margolis

THE AVALANCHE OF BAD NEWS from Iraq has largely obscured another dangerous crisis boiling in the Mideast: the intensifying strategic confrontation between nuclear aspirant, Iran, and nuclear superpower, Israel.

Israel and Iran have been trading nuclear threats for almost a decade. In 1995, a senior Israeli military official called for pre-emptive strikes against Iran's nuclear reactor complex at Bushehr in a replay of the destruction in 1981 of Iraq's Osirak reactor by Israeli F-16s.

Three years later, Israel's then prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, warned that his nation "will not sit back in the face of the very serious strategic threat that Iranian missiles pose to us." Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz amplified these threats, saying strikes against Iran "might be necessary to prevent Iran from deploying nuclear weapons and delivery systems." Iran's defense minister, Rear Adm. Ali Shamkhani, retorted that any Israeli attack would bring retaliation, "in a way Israel cannot imagine."

Pouring fuel on the fire, senior Iranian cleric Ali Rafsanjani called on Muslim nations to use nuclear weapons against Israel. Sounding much like Chairman Mao, Rafsanjani opined that the Muslim world could survive a nuclear exchange while Israel could not.

Since then, numerous senior Israeli military officials and their neoconservative Washington allies have been openly speaking of attacking Iran's expanding nuclear infrastructure. Lt. Gen. Mofaz repeated his threats to attack Iran in late 2003. Ominously, Israel's Mossad

reportedly stated that if Iran's nuclear weapons program was not forcibly halted by mid-2004, it could not be stopped.

Israel's prime minister, Ariel Sharon, who is said to have proposed to India in 1983 a joint attack on Pakistan's reactors, repeatedly warned of the dangers to Israel from Iran and called on the U.S. to "march on Tehran the day after it took Baghdad."

Israel is taking Iran's challenge very seriously: it is now deploying the U.S.-financed, \$5 billion Arrow-II anti-missile system designed to counter attacks by medium-ranged missiles from Iran (and, previously, Iraq) and, as well, the latest U.S. Patriot PAC-3 anti-missile version. Israel is developing, with Northrop-Grumman, a low-level laser system against artillery rockets and Scud missiles. Interestingly, Congress has been far more eager to fund anti-missile systems for Israel than for the United States.

The recent release of Israel's Man in the Iron Mask, Mordechai Vanunu, focused attention on a most unwelcome, highly taboo subject that the Bush administration seeks to avoid: Israel's large and growing nuclear arsenal.

For decades, Washington has either turned a blind eye to Israel's nuclear-weapons programs or covertly aided them. In an absurdity worthy of Samuel Beckett, the Bush White House long pretended that Iraq possessed nuclear weapons, which it clearly did not, while simultaneously pretending that ally Israel did not possess them, which it certainly did. The White House also denied

that North Korea had nuclear weapons, though the CIA affirmed that it did.

Vanunu, a technician at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear complex, fled to Britain in 1985 and revealed the existence of Israel's nuclear arsenal that he claimed numbered 200 nuclear warheads. Vanunu was lured to Italy by a female Mossad agent (or CIA agent, as he now claims), kidnapped by Israeli agents, tried, and condemned to 18 years in prison, 12 of them in solitary.

Israel's long-held policy of coy ambiguity over its nuclear arsenal suited both Jerusalem and Washington. Connoisseurs of intrigue believe Vanunu was buried alive in prison to prevent him from revealing the full extent of U.S.-Israeli nuclear co-operation at a time when Washington was preaching non-proliferation and Congress was threatening to cut off all U.S. aid to any nation developing nuclear weapons. Few members of Congress cared to commit political *hara kiri* by cutting aid to Israel.

During the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Israel blackmailed the Nixon administration into delivering huge quantities of arms by threatening to use its nuclear weapons against Syrian and Egyptian forces. Moscow's warnings to Damascus that Israel was moving nuclear missiles and bombs out of storage caves was the reason victorious Syrian armored forces mysteriously halted their advance on the Golan Heights, which allowed broken Israeli forces to regroup and counter-attack.

Since then, little has been heard about Israel's nuclear arsenal. A barely-noted



U.S. Air Force study reported that Israel's nuclear arsenal had grown from 13 devices in 1967 to an astounding 400 devices, including neutron and thermonuclear (hydrogen) bombs, making the Jewish state the world's biggest nuclear power after the U.S. and Russia. Israel also possesses the Mideast's largest biowarfare complex at Nes Tziyona, producing a wide range of chemical and advanced germ-warfare weapons. The reason President Bush's inspectors never found the elusive weapons of mass destruction they were seeking was that they were looking in the wrong country.

A decade ago, the director general of Pakistan's intelligence service, ISI, showed me dramatic evidence of Iran's nuclear ambitions. Tehran had offered to pay ten years' worth of Islamabad's total defense budget in exchange for nuclear-weapons technology. Pakistan refused. But five or six years later, Iran managed to obtain uranium enrichment technology from Pakistani scientists with the connivance of some senior military officials and politicians.

Recent UN inspections of Iran's growing nuclear infrastructure suggest a two-track development policy. Iran is building an extensive civilian nuclear power generation industry, a logical insurance policy for a nation whose oil reserves are on the decline. Behind the civilian structure, Iran's military also constructed a covert second-tier nuclear weapons capability deep underground at its Nantaz and Arak plants, using early Pakistani centrifuge technology to enrich uranium to weapons-grade purity.

Israel adopted the same subterfuge in the 1970's, building at Dimona a fake civilian nuclear facility to disguise nuclear-weapons development. On their sole visit to Dimona, American inspectors were completely taken in by this ruse.

Since then, there have been no international inspections of Dimona: Israel rejected all other feeble U.S. requests to

visit the complex. More importantly, Israel refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, with its inspections regime, to which Iran was a party. Israel also secretly conducted much of its nuclear-weapons program with South Africa's apartheid government, far from the world's gaze. So, ironically, Iran is being pilloried and threatened by the U.S. and EU because it signed the NPT while Israel, which refused to sign, has escaped all censure. Three other nuclear powers, North Korea, India, and Pakistan, have also refused to sign.

## ISRAEL'S NUCLEAR ARSENAL HAS GROWN FROM 13 DEVICES IN 1967 TO 400.

How close Iran is to producing deliverable nuclear weapons is uncertain. Israel estimates one to two years. Iran appears to be racing to extract enough enriched uranium to produce a small number of nuclear weapons before UN and Western sanctions—or military action—shut down its reactors and separation plants. Work is also continuing on the fusing, electronics, and shaped-charge technologies needed to initiate nuclear explosions.

Iran's military technology and manufacturing skills have been persistently underestimated by Western intelligence. Iran has been working on and off on nuclear weapons since the late 1970's, when Shah Reza Pahlavi concluded a deal with Israel for the sale of Jericho missiles and nuclear warheads shortly before his overthrow.

Nuclear weapons, of course, are useless without reasonably accurate missiles or bombers to deliver them. This was lost on Vice President Dick Cheney, who kept insisting that Iraq posed a nuclear threat to the U.S. even though he knew perfectly well it never had any missiles with ranges longer than 300 miles nor any bombers.

Now, Iran is challenging Israel's Mideast nuclear monopoly. Iran's recently

deployed Shehab-III missile, which some claim is based on the North Korean No-Dong missile system, is capable of reaching Israel. This has set off alarm bells in the Jewish state, whose instinct has long been to strike at all potentially serious threats, no matter how distant. Mated with a lightweight, hardened nuclear warhead, a single Shehab-III that succeeded in penetrating Israeli defenses could destroy most of that nation. As tensions rise, Israel is reported to be preparing to strike six Iranian nuclear sites, likely with the blessing of the Bush

administration. It's also quite possible that joint U.S. and Israeli air and missile attacks against Iran might be the White House's pre-election surprise.

Israel certainly has the capability to attack Iran. Two decades ago, the U.S. discreetly supplied Israel with computer systems to allow its F-4E fighter-bombers to launch nuclear bombs. The Clinton administration supplied Israel with 25 ultra-long-range F-15I models with conformal fuel tanks that can reach Iran and, in fact, almost anywhere in the Mideast. With in-air refueling, so can some of Israel's recent-model nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers.

Israel's accurate Jericho-II medium-range missiles can deliver a nuclear strike from North Africa to Iran. With a third stage added, Jericho-II can become an intercontinental missile. Israeli technicians are now helping India to develop lightweight nuclear warheads and an intercontinental-range missile to carry them.

In a new development, Israel has deployed three U.S.-financed, German-built Dolphin-class submarines that are reportedly armed with nuclear-capable cruise missiles. These submarines give Israel both a survivable third leg of its

nuclear triad and also the ability to strike many land targets around the globe, including much of Iran, from stations in the Arabian Sea or Gulf of Oman.

Israel's new Ofeq-3 military recon satellites allow it to look down on the central Mideast and parts of west Asia, spot hostile missile launches, and target air and missile strikes. These capabilities, and Israel's unique access to real-time U.S. satellite data, give it an enormous advantage in the confrontation with Iran which, lacking any strategic reconnaissance capability, is blind beyond its borders.

Given all these ominous portents, chances are growing that either Israel, the United States, or the two in concert, may attack Iran's nuclear facilities unless Iran can convince skeptical American (not UN) inspectors that it has truly eschewed weapons production. And Israel is putting maximum pressure on the Bush administration to destroy Iran's nuclear infrastructure. Iranians are clever people and will probably do everything possible to appear to come clean while secretly continuing their weapons program. They understand that if Iraq had had a few nuclear weapons, it would probably not have been invaded. North Korea's small nuclear arsenal has allowed Pyongyang to stare down the Bush administration.

Who came down from Mt. Sinai and said that Israel, India, and Pakistan may possess nuclear weapons but not Iran? After losing 500,000 men in a war with Iraq that was backed by the U.S. and Britain, Iran feels it has every right to the ultimate self-defense. So the race is on, a deadly game of nuclear hide-and-seek that could easily blow up into a nasty crisis for all concerned. ■

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### **Israel's possible participation in the Abu Ghraib prison fiasco is, not surprisingly, being ignored by Congress and the press.**

Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba's report on prison abuses mentions the presence of a number of "third country nationals" operating freely within the prison. The nationals in question are believed to be Israelis, who were "assisting" in the interrogations. Abu Ghraib aside, a number of observers have noted the similarity between the well-established Israeli policies of control on the West Bank and evolving American pacification policies in Iraq. House demolitions, isolation of neighborhoods and villages, mass arrests, and interrogation employing torture have become hallmarks of both occupations. Israeli experts have also advised Special Operations troops at Ft. Bragg on the best way to carry out urban warfare against an irregular opponent, to include the establishment of assassination squads. It is believed that some of the assassination teams have been operating inside the Syrian border in an attempt to interdict small groups of terrorists moving into Iraq. Israeli advisers have also appeared at Coalition Headquarters in Baghdad, and Israeli companies have obtained contracts relating to the security aspects of Iraqi reconstruction. CACI International Inc., which has been implicated in the Abu Ghraib prison malfeasance, has close ties to the Israeli security industry. Its president, Jack London, was in Israel in January and received an award for CACI's achievements in "national security." There is speculation that one of CACI's employees, John Israel, described as a translator, might in fact be an Israeli citizen working under a highly improbable alias.



For centuries after his death, the name of Hannibal was used as the bogeyman to encourage Roman toddlers to sleep. In a similar fashion, Americans are being urged to vote Republican to ward off the terrorist bogeyman, with Osama bin Laden as a latter-day Hannibal. But despite publicly expressed reports of "credible threats" against the United States, there is no reliable intelligence that suggests any al-Qaeda plan to conduct terrorist operations over the next several months. Internet chatter reveals that al-Qaeda wants to carry out some violent actions in the U.S., particularly during the Democratic and Republican conventions in Boston and New York this summer, but the resources to do so may be lacking. The alerts disseminated by the FBI to field offices and local law enforcement have been based on speculative information, including one notice that suggested an impending truck-bomb attack and another warning about suicide bombers on trains. An FBI source commented that a low threshold for threat information means that questionable material is now being routinely disseminated. One source speculates that the terrorist threat is likely being hyped to help the president's electoral prospects in the wake of sinking opinion polls. Europe may well be the terrorist target of choice for this summer, with the Athens Olympics, while several "Coalition of the Willing" members waver in their support of the Iraqi occupation. Al-Qaeda has more options in Europe, including the employment of increasing numbers of volunteers drawn from the large unassimilated and increasingly radicalized Muslim populations in France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Spain. ■

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[new world order]

# The Perils of Hegemony

Washington learns that democracy is not made for export.

By Owen Harries

A DISTINGUISHED ANALYST of international politics, Martin Wight, once laid it down as a fundamental truth of international politics that “Great Power status is lost, as it is won, by violence. A Great Power does not die in its bed.” But 12 years ago, the Soviet Union, a state not exactly averse to violence, confounded all expectations by doing just that. It sickened and quietly expired, without war or bloodshed.

When the communist superpower ceased to exist, it did more than bring the Cold War to an end. It also altered fundamentally the structure of the international political system. For the first time in its history, that system became unipolar. The United States became a global hegemon. While there have often been local or regional hegemonies—the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, for example, or the United States in the Caribbean, and later in the Atlantic Alliance—there has never before been one that dominated the whole system.

How fundamental a change this is indicated by the fact that one of the main themes in the history of the state system has been the repeated and determined efforts of alliances of states to prevent any of their number from achieving systemic hegemony, even at the cost of long and bloody wars. Phillip II of Spain in the 16th century, Louis XIV in the 17th and early 18th centuries,

Napoleon at the beginning of the 19th century, the Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany and Hitler in the 20th century each tried for domination; all were eventually thwarted. And millions were killed in the process.

Britain played a prominent part in forming coalitions to balance and oppose the would-be dominant power, changing its allies as the challengers changed. Then, in the 19th century, Britain itself became very powerful. It dominated the world industrially, commercially, and financially. Its navy ruled the seas. It had a vast empire and established a Pax Britannica in large areas of the world. All this has led some to claim that in the middle of the 19th century Britain had indeed achieved global hegemony. But it is not a convincing claim. For Britain never achieved or sought to achieve dominance in continental Europe, which was the heart of the state system, where things were finally decided. It never acquired the formidable land army that would have been necessary to exert such dominance. Indeed the German chancellor, Bismarck, used to say derisively that if the British army was to land on the North German coast, he would send a policeman to arrest it.

During the time of their greatest power, the British followed a prudent policy of “Splendid Isolation,” keeping their distance from matters that did not

affect them seriously and not taking too assertive a role in European affairs. They played the role of offshore balancer, aiming not at achieving hegemony but at preventing any other states from doing so, while Britain itself dominated much of the rest of the world. So, no, Britain in the Victorian era was not a true global hegemon.

Stronger states have typically joined together against the prospective hegemon—as England, Austria, Holland, and Russia allied against the France of Louis XIV, or as France, England, and Russia joined together to balance a very powerful and assertive Germany before 1914. On the other hand, weaker and more vulnerable states, or those that for some reason—ethnic, cultural, or ideological affinity; a history of past friendly association—have hopes that they may receive favorable treatment at the hands of the ambitious state, may opt to become its associates or accomplices. Balancing or bandwagoning is basically the choice for all those caught in the scope of the hegemon’s ambition.

But how can they know in advance the scope of that ambition? The answer is that they cannot know, but as a matter of prudence they must assume. That is, they must assume that in a system of independent states coexisting in a state of anarchy, without any superior authority to restrain them or common loyalty



to bind them, those who have the capacity to do so will dominate others who are weaker. As a wit summed it up: When there is no agreement as to which suit is trumps, clubs are always trumps.

This view may seem unduly cynical, an example of the kind of self-fulfilling fear that characterizes Realpolitik and the Hobbesian view of international politics. And it may be that. But it is an interpretation of the motives and behaviors of states that has a long pedigree. It is to be found, for example, in the first great work on interstate politics, Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, written some two and a half thousand years before Henry Kissinger put pen to paper.

When Thucydides comes to discuss the causes of that war, he says that he will begin by giving an account of the specific complaints and disagreements that Athens and Sparta had with each other. But he advises that these in themselves will provide an inadequate and misleading explanation of the conflict. In an often quoted sentence, he gives

To presume a want of motives for such contests, as an argument against their existence, would be to forget that men are ambitious, vindictive and rapacious. To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties situated in the same neighborhood would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.

Indeed, the Founding Fathers of the United States had such a fear of uncontained power, even in the hands of their elected fellow countrymen, that they made the separation and balancing of powers the outstanding feature of their constitution.

The policy conclusion that follows from such an analysis was most succinctly put by another Greek historian, Polybius, in the form of a maxim: "It is never right to help a power to acquire a predominance that will render it irresistible"—never right, that is, if a state

in a unipolar world. It had not changed its policies or mode of behavior to bring this about. The speed with which things changed meant that American hegemony was an accomplished fact before anyone had time to react to it or attempt to prevent it.

And the process drew little attention to itself: most eyes were fixed on Moscow. For these reasons, the usual historical process of determined opposition to an aspiring hegemon did not take place.

Indeed, it took America herself some time to realize what had happened and how dominant she now was. When the Soviet system collapsed, the American people, far from enjoying an unalloyed sense of triumph, were experiencing their own crisis of confidence. In the late 1980s, it was widely believed, especially by American opinion leaders and intellectuals, that America was in decline and suffering from what historian Paul Kennedy had recently labeled "imperial overstretch." The American economy was experiencing a long bad spell. Japan and Germany were coming up fast, and it was widely believed that the former would soon displace the United States as the number one economic power in the world.

Apart from all that, the country was suffering from serious social ills, and opinion polls were making it clear that the American people were tired of the burdens of foreign policy and wanted a re-ordering of priorities. Jeane Kirkpatrick, who had herself been a dedicated cold warrior, was expressing a widely held view when she wrote in 1990:

The United States performed heroically in a time when heroism was required; altruistically during the long years when freedom was endangered. The time when Americans should bear such unusual burdens is past. With a return to

## THE SPEED WITH WHICH THINGS CHANGED MEANT THAT **AMERICAN HEGEMONY WAS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT BEFORE ANYONE HAD TIME TO REACT TO IT OR ATTEMPT TO PREVENT IT.**

what he considers the real, the fundamental, cause: "What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in the Spartans."

Why the fear? Because, as he puts it, "the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must." What they can, note, not what they might originally have intended to do. For unchecked power creates its own motives and sets its own agenda. As Alexander Hamilton put it in another classic political text, the *Federalist Papers*:

values its own independence. If it should value order or peace above all else, there might be a case for submitting to the prospective hegemon. But that would be at the cost of one's independence and freedom of action.

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America's emergence as a hegemonic power came not by deliberate effort, but inadvertently, by the default of the Soviet Union. One moment the United States was part of a bipolar balance, the next it was left as the one superpower

‘normal’ times, we can again become a normal nation—and take care of pressing problems of education, family, industry and technology. It is time to give up the dubious benefits of superpower status and become again an open American republic.

It was widely believed, both in the United States and elsewhere, that this was a unipolar moment, not a unipolar era. For the general assumption was that the end of the Cold War signaled a return to normality, and in international politics normality had always meant multipolarity. As late as 1994, Henry Kissinger was predicting the gradual military decline of the United States, the emergence of “at least six major powers.”

All these factors combined to obscure and disguise what should have been obvious both to Americans and the rest of the world: that the United States now had hegemonic power. Whatever problems the U.S. economy had, it still accounted for well over a quarter of the world’s gross domestic product. And

of Harvard, who coined the term, argues that these mold the tastes and thoughts of others, making them want what Americans want—and thus, without any co-ordinated intent, constitutes a kind of cultural hegemony. I have my doubts as to whether all this constitutes “power” in any real sense. After all, many Americans, far from approving of many aspects of their popular culture, are appalled that it represents America in the minds of millions of foreigners. And far from desiring all aspects of American culture, many foreigners see its manifestations as symbolizing all that they reject in America and resent in their own countries.

Last, but certainly not least, the United States possessed in unprecedented measure a form of power about which there is no ambiguity: military power. Until the Cold War, Americans had always been suspicious of professional armies. After all, the country had come into existence in the 18th century as the result of the exertions of citizen-soldiers against a British professional army. In his Farewell Address to the

Soldiering was a low-prestige occupation, the army marginal to the life of the country. Until the beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s, the United States did not have a Defense Department. It did not have a National Security Council. It did not have a Central Intelligence Agency. All these were only created in 1947, just as the Cold War was getting underway.

Four and a half decades later, the condition of the U.S. military, and its significance in American life, had experienced a monumental transformation. The Pentagon had become the most powerful department in American government. It sustained a huge defense industry of vital importance to the U.S. economy. Its officers were no longer languishing in the boondocks, but were an influential part of the Washington scene. A network of institutions, colleges, think-tanks, and journals sustained a sophisticated military culture. Given all this, it is not surprising that at the end of the Cold War there was not an immediate demobilization and drastic scaling down of the military establishment. It had become too powerful, too deeply embedded, for that to happen.

In politics, the relationship between ends and means is not all one-way. The capacity to do something contributes—sometimes substantially—to the attractiveness of doing it. Given that the United States had far and away the most powerful military machine in the post-Cold War world, it is not really surprising then that before long Madeleine Albright was asking an astonished Colin Powell: What is the use of having such a powerful military force if you are not prepared to use it?

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According to Charles Krauthammer, from the end of the Cold War until the terrorist attack of Sept. 11, 2001, the United States took a ten-year “holiday from his-

## WASHINGTON'S ADVICE WAS FOLLOWED. FOR NEARLY TWO CENTURIES, THE COUNTRY NEVER MAINTAINED A LARGE PEACETIME ARMY.

soon it was to recover and enjoy a long boom fuelled by the so-called New Economy of information technology. In the 1990s, the United States economy was to grow nearly twice as fast as the European Union and three times as fast as Japan.

The United States also dominated what we have now been instructed to think of as “soft power,” cultural and intellectual influence represented by everything from Harvard to Hollywood, CNN to McDonald’s, popular music to computer software to jeans. Joseph Nye

nation in 1796, George Washington, himself the country’s greatest soldier, urged future generations to “avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty.”

His advice was followed. For nearly two centuries, the country never maintained a large peacetime army. Whenever a crisis occurred, it quickly raised forces of citizen-soldiers to meet it. Once the crisis was over—after the Civil War, after World Wars I and II—these forces were promptly disbanded.

tory.” On the face of it, this seems a strange way to characterize American behavior during the decade. United States military forces were more active during these years than at any time since the Vietnam War—in the Gulf and Iraq, in Somalia, in Haiti, in Bosnia, in Afghanistan, in Sudan, in Columbia, and in Kosovo. The American economy enjoyed a sustained six-year boom. On Washington’s initiative, NATO expanded eastward towards the Russian border. The North American Free Trade Agreement was negotiated and the World Trade Organization established.

Far from thinking that the United States was on vacation during these years, other countries were increasingly aware of its dominant presence. During the Clinton administration, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder expressed the view, “That there is danger of unilateralism, not by just anybody but by the United States, is undeniable.” The French Foreign Minister, Hubert Vedrine, reflected, “American globalism dominates everything. Not in a harsh, repressive, military form, but in people’s heads”.

Closer to home, by the mid-1990s as sound and patriotic a judge as James Schlesinger was detecting a “growing hubris” in the conduct of American foreign policy, and “a naïve belief that assertiveness is now cost-free and does not entail serious consequences.” In what sense, then, could it be thought that the United States was taking a “holiday from history”?

What Krauthammer meant, I believe, was that during these years, the United States, having become the sole remaining superpower and an authentic global hegemon, had failed to activate a grand purpose commensurate with that status. Most countries might not feel the need for such a thing. But Americans do. They have a great taste for doctrines that set out the objectives that are to determine

policy, as in the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine, and the Reagan Doctrine.

No such thing was evident during the last decade of the 20th century. George Bush senior confessed that he wasn’t very good at “the vision thing,” and his concept of a “new world order” was still-born. His successor, William Clinton, was an improviser with little taste for

the swamp,” as the phrase goes, but creating a fertile liberal and democratic pasture in its place.

Initially, the stress was on the former. But there were many in Washington’s foreign-policy establishment who saw things in much more sweeping terms, and Sept. 11 shifted the balance in their favor—away from prudence and moderation toward conceptual boldness and

# CLOSER TO HOME, BY THE MID-1990S AS SOUND AND PATRIOTIC A JUDGE AS JAMES SCHLESINGER WAS **DETECTING A “GROWING HUBRIS”** IN THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

doctrines or vision. A connoisseur of opinion polls and focus groups, he knew that Americans consistently gave foreign policy a very low priority, so he acted accordingly, taking a limited interest in foreign policy. When he did, he lived largely by improvisation.

In January 2001, George W. Bush succeeded Clinton. How the Bush administration’s foreign policy would have developed in the absence of the Sept. 11 attack, we shall never know. But in an instant the terrorists gave the country the clear purpose that it had previously lacked. That organizing principle came under the name of “a war on terrorism.” It was adopted not as a result of cool calculation or choice, but out of necessity and in a mood of understandable outrage at the unprecedented violation that had been visited on the United States.

Now the concept of a War on Terror is general enough to support more than one meaning. It can be interpreted precisely, in terms of destroying the organizations and instruments of terror and protecting the homeland against their efforts. But it can also be defined broadly to encompass changing the conditions that give rise to terrorism, and the creation of an international order that would be inimical to its existence—not only “draining

an ambitious use of American power. Within a year, the War on Terror had metastasized into something much grander and more radical; something that would give full expression to one of the strongest strands in the history of the American people: the profound belief that they and their country are destined to reshape the world. America’s “cause is the cause of all mankind,” said Benjamin Franklin; “We have the power to begin the world over again,” insisted Tom Paine; “God has predestined, mankind expects, great things from our race .... We are pioneers of the world,” said Herman Melville. Abraham Lincoln declared America to be “the world’s last best hope.” And so on and on.

Many in and around the Bush administration shared this sense of America’s destiny and saw in 9/11 not merely a disaster to be revenged but an opportunity to reawaken and redirect America to its true historic mission.

This is what Robert Kagan means when he insists that “America did not change on Sept. 11. It only became more itself.” As he explains, the national ideology has always insisted that “The proof of the transcendent importance of the American experiment would be found not only in the continual perfection of American



institutions at home but also the spread of American influence in the world .... That is why it was always so easy for so many Americans to believe, as so many still believe today, that by advancing their own interests, they advance the interests of humanity."

In the aftermath of Sept. 11 those who thought in these terms came into their own. The result became fully evident a year after the terrorist attack with the publication of a 31-page statement by the president titled "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America".

For a document concerned with strategy, it puts an extremely heavy emphasis on ideology in defining America's purpose. In its first three pages alone, it uses the words "liberty" and "freedom," or some variation of them, 25 times, while the word "interest" occurs only twice. The document declares that the national strategy will be based on "a distinctly American internationalism." It will "use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe ... will actively work to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world." To that end, the United States will seek "to create a balance of power that favors human freedom: conditions in which all nations and all societies can choose for themselves the rewards and challenges of political and economic liberty." Note that the assumption is that, given a free choice, these are the values that all people will choose.

As well as reordering the internal conditions of countries in this way, the United States will reorder relations among states, for, as the document asserts, "the international community has the best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the seventeenth century to build a world where great powers compete in peace instead of continually prepare for war."

The president ends his introduction by declaring, "The United States has responsibility to lead this great mission." It is made unambiguously clear that the United States military will be an indispensable instrument for the creation of a new order and that the United States intends to maintain indefinitely the enormous military superiority it now enjoys. It is time, the president says,

[T]o reaffirm the essential role of American military strength. We must build and maintain our defenses beyond challenge .... Our forces will be strong enough to discourage potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equalizing, the power of the United States.

The military will be used actively and assertively, deployed even more widely than it was during the Cold War as a kind of global gendarmerie maintaining order.

And this strategy intends to maintain, if not increase, America's military power as it discourages others from building up theirs. Thus, two pages before it declares the essential role of American military strength, it advises the Chinese that:

In pursuing advanced military capabilities that can threaten its neighbors in the Asia-Pacific region, China is following an outdated path that, in the end, will hamper its own pursuit of national greatness.

This might seem a clear example of double standards. The defenders of the new doctrine do not deny this but justify it in terms of the special responsibilities of the United States for world order. As Robert Kagan puts it, because of those responsibilities, America "must refuse to abide by certain international conventions that may con-

strain its ability to fight effectively .... It must support arms control, but not always for itself. It must live by a double standard." Which, of course, raises the important question of whether other countries will ever be willing to accept that double standard. The whole history of international politics suggests that they will not.

Also key to the new doctrine is its abandonment of deterrence, which was effective in dealing with a rational and cautious adversary like the Soviet Union, but is less so in dealing with risk-taking rogue states. Instead, a greatly extended policy of pre-emptive action must now be adopted:

The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction—and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack. To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act pre-emptively.

Another feature of the Bush doctrine is its unilateralism. ("We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary.") In a sense, the very genesis of the document testifies to this, since its intention to alter the international system fundamentally was announced with little or no consultation with other states. What can one say about this strategic doctrine? The first thing to be emphasized is its breathtaking scope and huge ambition to do no less than to effect a transformation of the political universe—according to some of its language, to stamp out evil and war between states, to create a benign world. Students of the realist school tend to see such goals as beyond even the reach of a country with the enormous power of the United States. While America has enough

strength to defeat all other adversaries and rivals, it remains to be seen whether she can conquer Utopia.

In insisting upon the dominant role of the United States and the assertive use of American power, the doctrine makes very questionable assumptions about what the other states will accept. They are asked to take good intentions on trust, but states have never been prepared to do this with other would-be hegemon.

Will the United States be the exception? Does the fact that it is a democratic and liberal state make a decisive difference? Will other states accept the concept of a benign hegemon or regard it as a contradiction in terms? Bearing in mind the distrust of unbalanced and concentrated power that is manifest in the United States' own constitution, Americans should not be surprised if others are skeptical.

The thrust and tone of the doctrine reject the advice given by most pundits on the best way to play a hegemonic role: to be restrained and prudent in the use of power, to disguise it, to strive to act as far as possible by persuasion and consensus. In the 1940s, when the United States was already the dominant power within the Western Alliance, it acted on this advice. It went out of its way to act multilaterally, to create a network of rule-making institutions—the UN, IMF, World Bank, and GATT—that allowed it to act co-operatively with others, as *primus inter pares*—the first among equals. There is little of this to be found in the current doctrine. The prevailing view in Washington, as famously enunciated by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, has been, “the worst thing you can do is allow a coalition to determine what your mission is.”

The Bush doctrine should be taken seriously and not dismissed as rhetoric. It has already been put into effect in Iraq: the use of American military force

as the main instrument; pre-emptive action; a clear indication that the United States was prepared to act without a Great Power consensus, and unilaterally if necessary; and the avowed intention to replace a tyrannical regime with a liberal representative government. That is why the Iraq commitment has an importance that goes way beyond the fate of Iraq itself. If, in the end, it turns out suc-

#### THE THRUST AND TONE OF THE DOCTRINE **REJECT THE ADVICE** GIVEN BY MOST PUNDITS ON THE **BEST WAY TO PLAY A HEGEMONIC ROLE.**

cessfully, it is likely that the mishaps that have occurred since the end of the heavy fighting will be seen as part of a learning experience, a breaking-in period for a new, revolutionary, strategic doctrine. If, on the other hand, it fails at the first hurdle—if, that is, the United States finds that bringing about a decent political order is beyond its capacity—then not only will there have to be a reconsideration of the whole global strategy, but the limits of the United States' capacity will have been made evident, and the inclination to resist it greatly strengthened.

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To the critics, the belief that democratic institutions, behavior, and ways of thought can be exported and transplanted to societies that have no experience of them is profoundly mistaken. While the United States can provide an example to emulate, democracy is not a commodity that can be exported, or a gift that can be bestowed. To be viable, political institutions and political cultures require a long, organic, indigenous growth, and to attempt from without a sudden dislocation of what exists is more likely to produce unintended consequences than intended ones.

Supporters of the policy tend to regard all this as defeatist, an elaborate rationalization for doing nothing. Liberty, they assert, is a universal value, every society and culture desires it. To work for its realization through democratic institutions is not to impose anything, but merely to remove impediments and to render assistance in a learning process.

In terms of achievability, the trump cards in the hands of those who favor the policy and usually the first cards played are the examples of post-World War II Germany and Japan. But neither is particularly valid or relevant. The German and Japanese peoples were utterly defeated and crushed at the end of that conflict, and there were no surviving institutions or centers of opposition. In Iraq today the population is considered liberated, not defeated and deprived of rights. Second, Germany and Japan in 1945 were genuine nation states with homogenous populations and a strong sense of identity. This is true of few of the possible candidates for democratization today. Most of the states of the Middle East are artificial creations, arbitrarily carved out by Western powers. Third, and most important, before falling into the hands of extremist regimes, both Germany and Japan had considerable experience of the rule of law and civil society, as well as some significant experience of democratic practice. They had well-educated populations and substantial middle classes. Again, none of this is true of most of the targeted states today.

Another American experience seems much more relevant. Long before the

United States became a global hegemon, it was a regional hegemon in the Caribbean. From the end of the 19th century it dominated the region and intervened as it saw fit. It occupied Haiti for 19 years, Nicaragua for even longer. Yet to this day the region has not produced one genuine, stable democracy. Nor was the United States to lay the foundations for a viable democracy during the three decades that it ruled the Philippines.

Some social scientists believe that the most reliable indicator of a country's chances of achieving a viable democratic system is its economic performance. More precisely, a mean per capita income of around \$6,000 makes the chance of a successful democratic transition very high. There are exceptions. The correlation does not apply to states with high incomes derived, not from effort, but solely from the luck of sitting on vast reserves of oil. But the correlation is a strong one, and the reasons are fairly evident. A developed economy requires, among other things, a reasonable education system, a developed middle class, significant access to information, a legal system that enforces rules of commerce in a way that foreign investors and traders find acceptable.

What implications does this have for the policy of promoting democracy? First, in many cases the most efficient way of proceeding initially may not be the direct one of focusing on political reform but the indirect one of developing strong economic institutions. Second, the greater effort should be directed at those countries that are approaching the transition stage with incomes that are not derived from oil or mineral wealth.

Even if the goal of promoting democracy is achievable, is it desirable? This may seem a strange question, for we are all in favor of "democracy," aren't we? Yes, we are, but when we speak of

democracy, we almost invariably mean liberal democracy: a combination of democracy as a way of selecting government by competitive election and liberalism as a set of values and institutions, including the rule of law, an independent judiciary, an honest and impartial civil service, a strong respect for human rights and private property. While we are accustomed to the two being linked together, it is worth considering whether there is a necessary connection between them.

Liberalism has in the past thrived in countries that were not democratic, as it did, for example, in Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Democracy can be, and often is, installed in countries that are not liberal. Democratic governments can assume intrusive and oppressive power—regarding property, for example, or religious practice, or the starting of businesses—while still

of those who know the region well believe that if democracy were to be introduced under the prevailing conditions, the immediate result would be the installation of governments that would be even more militantly Islamist, repressive, and anti-Western than those that now exist.

There is one other important respect in which democracy figures in the discussion of international relations in the post-Cold War era. It is claimed that the increasing spread of democracy across the globe will greatly reduce the incidence of warfare and create an extended zone of peace. For, it is maintained, the historical evidence shows that democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with each other.

One can, of course, argue about definitions and particular cases, but it is generally true that liberal democracies have

**THE CORRELATION DOES NOT APPLY TO STATES WITH HIGH INCOMES DERIVED, NOT FROM EFFORT, BUT SOLELY FROM THE LUCK OF SITTING ON VAST RESERVES OF OIL.**

observing the basic democratic requirements. In his recent book *The Future of Freedom*, Fareed Zakaria argues that illiberal democracy is an increasingly prevalent phenomenon. It would, he believes, be a healthier state of affairs if the evolution toward an orderly rule of law and liberal civil society by some kind of enlightened elite were to precede the installation of a democratic order, as was the case with most stable Western democracies. He argues that in considering the interrelationship between liberalism and democracy, we should recognize that the former is the precondition of a successful implementation of the latter, rather than vice versa. This may be particularly sound advice in dealing with the Middle East, for many

managed to get along with each other without war. Britain and the United States have not fought a war since 1812. Britain and France, bitter and violent rivals in their pre-democratic days, have been at peace since 1815. America and Canada can live with a common border that is thousands of miles long, without any fortifications on it. Why is this? One answer was given by Immanuel Kant. He maintained that in a republican state, as opposed to an authoritarian one, there would be a presumption against war. Citizens "would be very cautious in ... decreeing for themselves all the calamities of war." For it would be they who would have to fight the wars, pay for them, and repair the devastation that would result.

In an important sense Kant claims too much, for all the reasons he gives for liberal democracies not fighting each other would also apply to liberal democracies not fighting other non-democratic states as well. But in fact, democracies have gone to war with non-democratic states and peoples very frequently, and for a variety of reasons: imperial expansion, ideology, territorial rivalry, to secure markets, to punish, to restore or impose order. More often than not, these wars have been enthusiastically supported by citizens.

Whatever the explanation, it is certainly true that war between liberal democracies in today's world seems utterly improbable. Whether the same would hold true for other democracies—between, say, an increasingly illiberal India and a Pakistan in which a corrupt and venal version of democracy had been restored—is an open question.

Some years ago, when enthusiasm for exporting democracy was building up in Washington, as the end of the Cold War approached, I wrote,

Americans of all political persuasions believe profoundly that it is their right and duty—indeed their destiny—to promote freedom and democracy in the world. It is a noble and powerful impulse, one not casually to be ridiculed or dismissed. But acting on it—if one is concerned to be effective and not merely to feel virtuous—is a complicated and delicate business, and the dangers are many. Success requires that this impulse be balanced against, and where necessary, circumscribed by, other interests that the United States must necessarily pursue, more mundane ones like security, order and prosperity. For these represent not merely legitimate competing claims but the preconditions for a lasting extension of democracy.

Success requires, too, an awareness of the intractability of a world that does not exist merely in order to satisfy American expectations—a world that, for the most part, cannot satisfy those expectations in the foreseeable future. While determination and purposefulness are important ingredients in any effective policy, the attempt to force history in the direction of democracy by an exercise of will is likely to produce more unintended than intended consequences. The successful promotion of democracy calls for restraint and patience, a sense of limits and an appreciation

of the wisdom of indirection, a profound understanding of the particularity of circumstances. As Thomas Carlyle once put it, 'I don't pretend to understand the Universe—it's a great deal bigger than I am ... People ought to be modester.'

This still reflects my views on the subject. ■

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# Homeward Bound

Motherhood becomes women.

By Marian Kester Coombs

"Why, a *cat's* a better mother than you," Rhett rasps at Scarlett, who has let her childish streak leap to the fore again. "Gone With the Wind" reveals the flawed ontogenesis of its famous heroine in the privations of war and occupation, the untimely loss of her own mother, the weakness of such men around her as Ashley Wilkes and Mr. O'Hara. Scarlett O'Hara is deficient as a mother because she remains a needy child herself.

Mother cats are sufficient for kittens, but their style of mothering does not become humans: that is, a person raised by a cat will not become human, although a cat raised by a person often becomes heartbreakingly childlike. Called petting or taming or gentling, the process involves a lavishing of tenderness upon the beloved. Just as this elicits uncannily

human behavior from cats, dogs, horses and even black-hooded rats, tenderness, still more than our fabled intelligence, is the force that makes us human. No species invests more love in its young than does humanity. And it pays off: we develop that species-specific luxury, a soul, for the sake of which we cherish one another. Our personal experience of preciousness enables us to appreciate the unrepayable gift of life itself.

When *The Awakening* was published in 1899, public reaction to author Kate Chopin's hostility toward those lowly creatures she termed "mother-women" could be summed up as horrified disbelief that any woman could speak so basely of motherhood. Yet a mere three generations later, Ms. Chopin's sentiments have been adopted by our society



(as well as most Western societies), and her little book is required reading in all high-school English courses.

Now nobody wants to be “the mom.” The national sport seems to be “How do I get out of having the watch the kids?” as the chore of “parenting” gets tossed back and forth among various parties, frequently winding up in the rough hands of the state. Yet what a wondrous system was mothering, admirable in its thrifty largesse, its fine-tuned and focused irrationality, its gloriously selfish selflessness, its universal particularity. Under its dominion every child was to be the little king or queen of at least one sucker’s susceptible heart. The usual law of life, “Eat or be eaten!” was suspended by mothers, who gloried in giving: “Eat, eat!”

Motherhood may appear to be a lifelong exercise in self-sacrifice: potentially of life itself, when giving birth; of substance, when nursing and nurturing; of ego, as mother of a young woman who begins to walk in the beauty that is so brutally deserting you, and that comes to vie with you, if only symbolically, for your own home and husband; of heart, as mother of a young man whom you must let another woman take away from you. And how much more was asked of Mary, who had to give up her Son not to another woman but, through the Cross, to every wretched friendless child of God on earth.

But for all this, although it is often called “unconditional,” a mortal mother’s love is anything but. A brilliant strategy designed over hundreds of generations to maximize human spiritual potential, it fosters empathetic intelligence, without which human society would be nothing but an unbearable series of violent, meaningless exchanges, by paradoxically devoting itself solely to its own offspring. It is the ultimate and original “market economy,” wherein competitive, self-interested parents invest in children who

then become capable of contributing to the well-being of society as a whole. “If all men are my brothers, then I have no brother,” it has been wisely said. If every child were my child, who would ever get enough love to bloom and thrive as an individual human being? A mother knows very well that her child is the most important one on the face of the earth; she requires no logical proof.

## CHILDREARING DOES NOT PLAY AT ALL TO THE STRENGTHS OF MEN.

Yet this victory over the conservation laws of matter and energy is nearly forgotten. The notion has arisen that since any idiot can have a child, only idiots should have children, or at least only idiots should have to take care of them. The application of intensive, high-quality care to the rearing of the young has come to be considered needless, menial drudgery that you wouldn’t wish on anyone, unless she were from the Third World and charged less than the going rate. When a virtue is much talked of in a society, it is certain to be quite rare; and so it is with our mantra that it’s all “for the children.”

Perhaps this strange indifference derives from the modernist depreciation of Man himself: if we are not made in the image of Almighty God, then any slipshod method of reproduction will do for us. A similar though slightly less catastrophic blunder is the constructivist or “real world” math fad, the foolish notion that mathematical concepts can be taught without numbers, rigor, or abstraction. A very lousy job of mothering and math teaching is being done here indeed, and we are all paying for it.

Just as one can’t ignore the fact that highly abstract numbers rule mathematics, the queen of the sciences, so one cannot avoid the fact that mothers are uniquely equipped to be children’s pri-

mary caregivers, the queens of the nursery. How many men have the fascination for babies, the patience with toddlers, the sheer interest in children that most women naturally possess? Childrearing does not play at all to the strengths of men. Mothering literally becomes women, whose entire bodies and psyches are shaped to achieve it. Even feminists acknowledge this in their typical let’s-

have-it-both-ways fashion, boasting of the “special bonds” among daughters and mothers and grandmothers and the “special caring relationships” between girlfriends, while at the same time trying to deny there’s anything inherently womanly about “watching the kids.”

Someone needs to be. Our kids are unmannerly, uncivilized, and profane, and who is supposed to be civilizing them? X-Box? “South Park”? Our kids are stressed, depressed, obese, “hyperactive,” stuffed with junk food and starved for attention (span), and who is supposed to be caring for them? Their soccer coach? The Global Village?

Recent headlines picked at random: “Antidepressant use by preschoolers rising,” “Eating habits of children found to feed incivility,” “Stimulant study shows slower child growth” and “TV ‘rewires’ developing brains, researchers fear.” Also in the news, parents “implore legislators to crack down” on “offensive programming,” with no one even bothering to note that it’s parents’ job to limit children’s access to TV, not the job of the federal government. A certain Mrs. Koonce does note cheerily, “Nobody’s going to agree on what’s objectionable. What I find inappropriate for [my kids], someone else is going to find just ducky.” All the more reason to handle such matters in the home before the feds are

handed yet another excuse to interfere with freedom of expression.

American boys are the most medicated children in the entire world. One developmental psychologist stated flatly almost ten years ago, after observing a number of mother-son pairs, "What is behind the alarmingly high incidence of ADHD [Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder] is the widespread failure of parents and teachers to help children learn to regulate themselves, including managing their attention. Many parents do not seem inclined to socialize their children." Exquisite neglect coupled with chemical "behavior management"—what a combination.

Recent anthropological studies have underscored the importance of competitive maternal involvement to the health both of human societies and individuals. "Maternal dominance" may refer either to the theory that environmental conditions somehow affect what sex the mother "chooses" for her offspring (with females being favored in environments of acute stress or want, males in environments of chronic stress like warfare), or to the critique of single motherhood in "underprivileged" socioeconomic strata. But it also means having a "dominant mother," one who single-mindedly takes care of business in the interest of her child. Competition among mothers in both human and ape societies has been found to rank the young in more favorable social positions. *Mothers, Leadership and Success* by business executive Guy Odom is also one of several arguments to the effect that leadership in society at large is suffering from a dearth of sons raised by dominant mothers, since these are precisely the women now likeliest to have no children at all.

The Howard Center for Family, Religion, and Society; the Rockford Institute; the Family Research Institute; Focus on the Family; and such authors as Allan Carlson and Bill Kauffman have

all documented the lost centrality to our culture of "hearth and home." Television, movies, feminist academics, and the media, particularly women's magazines, continue to portray women as harmed and unfulfilled by wife- and motherhood. Susan Maushart's *Wifework: What Marriage Really Means for Women* is a lurid exposé of how working wives still have to do "70% of the unpaid labor within the family" plus "significantly more childcare" than their husbands. But a 2004 poll by Career-Builder.com showed that 65 percent of fathers work 40 or more hours per week, whereas only 36 percent of employed mothers do. And there is something pathetic and even cruel about a book like *Wifework* when millions of women in Western countries who would love to be married mothers will probably not ever get the chance. It has been estimated, for instance, that as many as 45 percent of Australian women under 35 will never marry.

For some time there has existed a sort of fantasy genre—*The Rules* by Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider, *What Our Mothers Didn't Tell Us* by Danielle Crittenden, *The Morning After* by Katie Roiphe—that seemed to assume we could simply declare an end to the demystification of the Feminine Mystique and then restore it. But as T.S. Eliot asked, "After such knowledge, what forgiveness?" Men are in no hurry to take back the women who so harshly rejected the love of men and redefined femininity in such coarse, crude terms. For it was not only children that the Brave New Woman forsook in those heady years just past, but husbands as well. Dr. Laura is here to tell us what a mistake that was—but once again, the revelation arrives a trifle too late for many marriages.

Other commentators have decided what we need is a wholesale return to teenage marriage: that would not only solve the problem of high illegitimacy

rates, but address the "growing up absurd" situation of girls pining to settle down and have kids instead of being forced to go through the motions of "higher education" and "career advancement." One might call it the "Natasha Syndrome" after Tolstoy's *War and Peace* heroine who nearly goes mad waiting for Prince Andrei to get around to marrying her, although of course he never does because death intrudes, but who is at last saved from hysterical oblivion by Pierre and is gaily reveling with him in their five beautiful children when the novel ends and one is forced to bid farewell to what may be the most satisfying read of all time.

The trouble with the teenage marriage prescription is that young men won't agree to it. Years of feminist-inspired female promiscuity have conditioned

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many of them to view marriage as a last resort—if that. The call for teen marriage also begs the question of why marriage started being postponed in the first place: the disappearance of semi-skilled and manual jobs that used to provide a living wage for young fathers just entering the work force.

However this may be, a few sources are now detecting a small but genuine swing back toward traditional home-making among young families. *Time* magazine bannered “The Case for Staying Home” across its March 22, 2004, issue. Using data from the Census Bureau, the Families and Work Institute, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and other studies, the article reports that workplace participation by married women with a child under one year old fell from 59 percent in 1997 to 53 percent in 2000, a “first-ever drop-off.” Workplace participation for married mothers with children under three dropped from 61 percent in 1997 to 58 percent in 2002. One in three women with an MBA is not working fulltime, as compared with only one in 20 male MBAs. The general finding so far is that among educated white women in upper-tier professions, over 30 but still in the post-feminist “Gen X” range, those who can afford to are trading increasingly all-consuming job situations for the chance to get to know their own sons and daughters. Inflation and speed-up, in other words, are making it less palatable for both parents to work and pay for childcare, maid service, landscaping, home maintenance, and all the other things people with no time to live in their own houses have to pay for.

Predictably, the “threat” of this homeward trend is being vigorously combated by academics like Susan Douglas and Meredith Michaels in their book *The Mommy Myth*, which warns of a “New Momism.” It is impossible, of course, to pay too much attention to or spend too much time with children, particularly

one’s own, but such details do not concern the professors. They claim to worry that women are being told, “To be a remotely decent mother, a woman has to devote her entire physical, psychological, emotional and intellectual being, 24/7, to her children.” Well, no, not even Focus on the Family, that sinister Bible-based outfit run by the notorious patriarch Dr. James Dobson, is telling women any such thing. But devoting a little more of Mom’s “being” to the kids would be much appreciated, not only by them but by all of us.

The current rejection/abandonment model of American mothering is what is really on display 24/7. Babies are held, when held at all, in a haphazard, careless,

religious affiliation, but almost all its contributors list themselves as active at church. These contributors over the years have written very movingly of their decisions to “come home” and “put their children first” no matter what the world thinks of such cockeyed priorities. The anti-natalist tide of modernity is being quietly yet strongly battled by tens of thousands of believing families, some of whom also home-school, and some of whom are prayerfully having that third or fourth child they “really can’t afford.”

Then there are the wonderful culture-war victories being won. Not only the beautiful “Lord of the Rings” film trilogy and Mel Gibson’s heart-changing masterpiece “The Passion of the Christ,”

## TODDLERS ARE FORCED TO TROT BEHIND STRIDING ADULTS.

contemptuous manner. Toddlers barely able to keep their feet are forced to trot behind striding adults across busy intersections and through banging doors; they sway precariously, ignored, in shopping carts at the supermarket. Little ones who long since should have been tucked into bed with a story and a kiss are hauled around to theaters, restaurants, casinos, and bars by short-tempered adults at all hours of the night. Children can be heard begging and crying and finally wailing for hours on end for an adult response that never comes. Tenderness is so rare that the sight of it comes as a nostalgic shock. And these are observations from middle-class suburbia.

The religious dimension of the turn toward home is one that *Time*’s article does not delve into, love of God being a kind of “third rail” that the liberal media fear to grasp. The monthly periodical *Welcome Home*, published for the past 21 years by Mothers at Home (now Family and Home Network), is “inclusive” in the sense of having no official

but modest films like “Sweet Home Alabama,” a runaway hit despite its lack of any Oscar buzz. Here a fashionista who has left her roots and high-school beau for the gay glitz of Manhattan gives Home a second chance. And at the end the audience glimpses an angelic, golden-haired child who would never have been born had the Sundered couple not found each other again.

Women need to restore themselves to their crucial, irreplaceable roles as the nurturers, the cheerers and carers, the praisers and sympathizers, the believers, the givers and forgivers, the lovers. Certainly, as with Scarlett O’Hara, there are many reasons women became deficient as mothers and wives. But blame has to end somewhere and forgiveness begin. Love, as ever, is the one true revolutionary act. Only with real homes at its heart will our nation become a homeland once more. ■

*Marian Kester Coombs writes from Crofton, Md.*

# A Passage to India

The export of American jobs owes less to market forces than to political maneuvering.

**By John B. Roberts II**

WHEN INDIA'S then-prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and President Bush met at the White House on Nov. 9, 2001, their agenda included a plan for high-tech trade that resulted in scores of thousands of American jobs moving off-shore to India. The trade proposal was raised by Vajpayee and welcomed by Bush. Soon-to-be-unemployed American engineers and computer scientists were not told that their jobs were barter for India's allegiance in the new foreign-policy Great Game that Bush is playing in Asia. But the president and his top advisers knew perfectly well what the consequences of their deal with Vajpayee would be.

Few journalists or politicians understand that more than market forces are driving high-tech jobs overseas. Outsourcing jobs to India is a deliberate White House strategy implemented and promoted by the U.S. Department of Commerce. When Bush administration officials support outsourcing they are not just explaining the macroeconomic benefits of trade. They are defending Bush's policy of sacrificing American jobs to forge a "strategic partnership" with India.

The intellectual godfather of this policy is Deputy Assistant to the President Robert D. Blackwill. He was Bush's ambassador to India from late June 2001 until August 2003. A State Department official calls Blackwill "one of the Vulcans" for his role in forging Bush's foreign policy. Blackwill, who is now the National Security Council's Coordinator

for Strategic Planning, has said publicly that the objective of outsourcing American jobs is to make India a more powerful military ally for the United States.

The courtship of India has helped drive unemployment rates for American computer scientists and electrical engineers to their highest levels in 20 years. Despite the resumption of economic growth last year, the unemployment rate for electrical engineers actually rose from 4.2 percent in 2002 to 6.2 percent in 2003, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The unemployment rate in Seattle, a high-tech hub, is 6.6 percent. In 2003, 5.2 percent of computer scientists were unemployed. By contrast, in past recessions the unemployment rate for high-tech workers rarely rose above 2 percent.

The job outlook for American high-tech workers is dire. According to Forrester Research, a high-technology consulting group, as many as 450,000 more computer industry jobs will go overseas by 2015. That represents 8 percent of all computer jobs. The next stage of Bush's high-tech trade initiative with India calls for the Commerce Department to ease national-security restrictions on the export of supercomputers and software. When the new rules come out this summer, even more jobs will go abroad.

The story began when Bush was governor of Texas and Condoleezza Rice was preparing him for the 2000 presidential race. She proposed refocusing American foreign policy on Great Power relationships, specifically with Russia,

China, and growing regional powers including India. To help develop policy ideas, she tapped the expertise of career Foreign Service Officer Robert Blackwill, who was then the Belfer Lecturer in International Security at Harvard University. Rice and Blackwill shared the view that a nuclear-armed India could be a strategic partner for the U.S. and a regional buffer against China.

When Blackwill first met with Bush in Austin, Texas in early 1999, the relationship between India and the U.S. was strained. Trade restrictions had been placed on India after its 1998 Pokhran-II nuclear bomb tests. The sanctions affected 159 Indian and Israeli companies the U.S. deemed involved in developing India's weapons of mass destruction.

As Blackwill recalled the Austin meeting, Bush shared his enthusiasm for a "radically new big idea about U.S.-India relations." The new idea was based on the premise that far from being a backward, overpopulated, and underdeveloped nation, India was on the path to becoming a world power. As Blackwill put it in 2003, "India's large and talented labor pool makes it possible for it to become yet another Asian Miracle." After a tense relationship during the Cold War, the time had come for the U.S. to embrace India.

Dr. Rice began reorienting U.S. policy toward India shortly after becoming national security adviser in January 2001. That spring, India's foreign minister was surprised when, during a White



House meeting with Rice, President Bush joined them for 20 minutes. "It isn't often, you know, that a foreign minister meets with a president," a State Department official told me to underscore the drop-in's significance. Bush's presence signaled that the new policy had his backing.

That summer, the Bush administration began a review of companies on the "entities list" of businesses and institu-

In November 2002, the two governments formalized the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group. The group is no low-level bureaucratic undertaking. Until the defeat of the Bharatiya Janata Party in India's elections last month, the senior Indian representative to the group was Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal. Commerce Department Undersecretary for Industry and Security Kenneth I. Juster and

teach my students at Harvard University, national economic strength is a prerequisite for sustained diplomatic influence and military muscle. ... I openly admit, therefore, that there is a certain amount of American self-interest at work ... an India that takes full advantage of its extraordinary human capital to boost its economy would be a more effective strategic partner of the U.S. over the next decades ..."

Blackwill called this the central point of his speech. His remarks serve to illustrate that it is not just abstract market forces that move American jobs to India; our self-described War President is doing so deliberately, to secure India as a military ally in case the U.S. needs to confront China in the future.

The new Great Game, however, could backfire, especially if the job loss erodes America's lead in high technology and no new innovative industry replaces it.

IEEE-USA (formerly called the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers) represents 225,000 U.S. computer, electrical, electronic, and software engineers. Ron Hira, chair of the IEEE-USA's career and workforce policy committee, is concerned that the loss of U.S. high-tech jobs will compromise innovation in high-technology industries and harm national security. When I interviewed Hira for this article, he was unaware of the specific work of the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group. But Hira knew something had catalyzed outsourcing in 2003.

"The major upsurge was in the summer of 2003," Hira told me, "Something happened between March and June. The multinationals picked up on outsourcing in a big way." That "something" was the promotion of outsourcing by the U.S. and Indian governments. It began in February 2003, when India's then-Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal and U.S. Commerce Under Secretary Juster issued a joint statement of principles

## BUT WHY IS IT IN AMERICA'S INTEREST TO SEND SOME OF ITS BEST MIDDLE-CLASS JOBS ABROAD?

tions suspected of developing India's weapons of mass destruction programs and therefore under trade restrictions; the goal was to pare down the list as an overture to India. The review was almost complete when terrorists attacked the World Trade Center and Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001. After 9/11, Bush proceeded to slash the list from 159 entities to just two entities and 14 companies. According to Blackwill, Bush told Vajpayee on Sept. 12, "human resources and intellectual capital are India's greatest asset."

Removing the licensing restrictions set the stage for the Bush-Vajpayee November 2001 White House summit. The agenda ranged from lifting export controls on dual-use technology and cooperation in the war on terrorism to promoting high-tech trade. Prime Minister Vajpayee suggested creating what became known as the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group.

"It's important to them," a State Department official told me in an interview for this article. "It's a mechanism to make their views known. They can reach into the Department of Commerce, and it's also a way of involving private companies in India and the U.S."

Undersecretary for Technology Phillip J. Bond jointly represent the United States.

The U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group accelerates outsourcing by bringing together American and Indian high-tech executives to form business relationships. The outsourcing of information-technology jobs, pharmaceutical research, and aerospace and defense research has been explicitly promoted at group forums sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

As recently as January 2004, Bush promised India more high-tech trade in the future. Clearly, India's national interests are served by the Bush initiative. But why is it in America's interest to send some of its best middle-class jobs to India?

Blackwill provided an answer in a January 2003 speech to alumni of the Indian Institute of Technology, the MIT of the subcontinent. With candor that is rare for the Bush administration, Blackwill acknowledged that the White House views the trade-off of job loss to India in strategic and military terms. "You might ask, why should Washington policymakers care about ... the future of the Indian economy?" said Blackwill. "As I used to

promoting high-technology trade. The statement was publicized by the Commerce Department and acted as a green light to multinational corporations about to establish or expand business in India.

In June 2003, the Commerce Department invited high-tech industry executives to the first meeting of the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group. More than 100 American and Indian industry representatives attended the day-long forum at the Ronald Reagan International Trade Center in Washington, D.C. Among them was Bharat Wakhlu, president of Tata Inc., India's biggest software company, as well as a broad cross section of executives from India's high-tech, biotechnology, and nanotechnology sectors.

Commerce Department officials explain away the forum as a dialogue designed to ease trade barriers and promote U.S. exports. This conflicts with the department's written summary of the day's discussions that says outsourcing U.S. jobs was a major topic.

One of Commerce's featured panelists was P.C. Chatterjee, Chairman of the Chatterjee Group, which has an outsourcing joint venture with United Airlines. In his panel discussion, Chatterjee urged U.S. pharmaceutical companies to begin "outsourcing research and development in India" to reduce costs. Rajat Gupta, an outsourcing advocate who is a managing director of McKinsey Worldwide, was another featured speaker. Gupta told the panelists that "in the 1990s India consciously focused on outsourcing knowledge" and outlined steps for the U.S.-India High Technology Cooperation Group to promote more outsourcing and off-shore production of high-technology goods.

Commerce Department Undersecretary Ken Juster also promoted outsourcing. Juster, the Commerce summary

says, "expressed the hope that the Forum would allow those in the high-technology industry to share ideas, create connections, and become invigorated to propel U.S.-Indian high technology cooperation forward on their own."

Juster's hopes were realized. As a result of outsourcing, Indian technology firms set new growth records in 2003. Infosys Technologies increased annual sales 30 percent over its previous fiscal year and topped \$1 billion for the first time. Two-thirds of the company's revenue comes from the United States. Satyam Computer Systems is close behind with record revenues near \$1 billion.

Headlines from India's press underscore that 2003 was exceptional. "US revival Triggers IT hiring spree" blares a December 2003 banner from the *Times of India*. Another headline trumpets

who describes the IEEE-USA's members as "very concerned" about outsourcing, worries that the Forrester study understates the problem. Hira notes that the study was done in November 2002—well before the current surge in outsourcing.

"In India, I can hire a taxi and a driver all day for \$10," Hira said, "I can buy a tomato for 2 cents. The overall cost of living is so much lower that a person making \$70,000 here in the U.S. would be as equivalently well-off in India on just \$14,000."

"In the IT services sector what you're doing is reselling labor," Hira said in our interview, "Labor is the biggest cost factor."

This differential in the cost of living explains why recent Indian college graduates who can program in the computer language Java can be hired for \$5,000 a year, compared to \$60,000 for the same

#### AS A RESULT OF OUTSOURCING, INDIAN TECHNOLOGY FIRMS SET NEW GROWTH RECORDS IN 2003.

"2003 puts India on the Cover." In the body of the article, the writer asserts, "for the first time in many years, India's IT industry has threatened to outperform the fabled software fortresses of California." American media concur. *Forbes* named Kiran Karnik, president of India's premier high-tech and software trade association, NASSCOM, as "Forbes' Face of the Year." *Fortune* named Azim Premji of Wipro, one of India's largest software companies, as number 17 among the 25 most powerful foreign business executives.

Forrester Research estimates that 3.3 million U.S. high-tech jobs will be outsourced to India, China, and other countries between now and 2015. Ron Hira,

graduate in the United States. It also helps explain why the atmosphere in engineering schools on American college campuses is one of pervasive gloom regarding job and career prospects.

"The Indian government has an industrial policy targeting Information Technology," Hira says, "We should err on the side of caution. There's not good data. We need to do something like in the 1980s, identify a critical technologies list, and protect it." ■

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*John B. Roberts II is a writer and television producer who worked in the Reagan White House. He is the author of Rating the First Ladies: The Women Who Influenced the Presidency.*

# All Loyalty is Local

As a boy, I lived in Hampden-Sydney, a small college town in Virginia, where my family had lived for generations. H-S was the Old South of idyllic imagination.

Georgian buildings stood on rolling green laws shaded by ancient oaks. Quiet reigned. At night, stars shone and crickets creaked. In the woods nearby, a stream splashed and chortled over Slippery Rock, where you could slide bare-bottomed into a welcoming pool. People were socially conservative, literate, friendly, living in houses they had lived in forever. Many were professors, stately men of great learning.

Seven miles away in Farmville, the county seat, lovely old houses lined High Street, not far from the statue of the Confederate soldier. On Main Street were stores where people had known each other for generations. A Southern mannerliness prevailed.

When the wind was right, the rich sweet smell of tobacco came peppery from the ancient processing floors at the end of town. There was a sense of permanence, of locality. Farmville, like Hampden-Sydney, like Athens, Alabama in 1957, like New Orleans once, like so many towns, was its own place, shaped by the people who lived there. You could feel a loyalty to it. I did.

Perhaps all loyalty is essentially local. America was once a sprawling tapestry of locality. Boone, North Carolina wasn't Barstow, and Barstow wasn't Bluefield, and Bluefield wasn't Amarillo, but they were all what they were and had their distinctiveness and dignity, their quirky idiosyncrasy.

It didn't last. It doesn't last. Sooner or later, the shopping mall comes to the outskirts. With it come Gap, Penny's, McDonald's, Hecht's, Wal-Mart, Sam's,

Office Depot, Staples, Wendy's. Main Street dies because Wal-Mart is cheaper. People no longer stroll down Main saying hello to friends. They drive to the mall and park.

Ruby Tuesday arrives, mass cheer designed at corporate headquarters. Red's Rib Pit dies. Red's belonged where it was, with the stuffed buck's head and the deer rifle under it on a rack made of antlers. Ruby Tuesday glittered more and had a better menu.

A man has a certain dignity when he stands in his own farm or when he owns his store and talks politics with customers. When he becomes a salaried warehouseman for a remote office in Milwaukee, he doesn't.

The localness that made towns memorable withers further under the onslaught of television. Regional accents vanish. Across the continent people gawp in electronic synchronicity at sitcoms devised in Hollywood and New York. These carefully, deliberately, gnaw away at local views of things and replace them with Appropriate Values. People no longer raise their children. The box does. Their schooling is determined by texts written far off, designed to instill the politics of elsewhere.

Music is the soul of a locality. Zydeco is Louisiana, *los mariachis* are Mexico, Presley was the small-town South. New York now determines our music. Everything is decided from afar. Everything moves toward uniformity. And toward degradation. We suffer under a plague of rappers, human cockroaches scuttling across the sores of a necrotic civiliza-

tion. People in the Bible Belt don't want to hear someone shouting profanity from the CD player, don't want their children exposed to it, but New York says they must. The Supreme Court says they must. How much loyalty do I owe to profits at Warner Brothers? To nine presumptuous apparitions in black robes who care nothing about me?

And how much attachment should I feel toward the government? Washington once seemed benign. It was the capital of a magnificent country that had promulgated freedom and defeated the Nazis and was defending the world from communism. Not all of this stood up to analysis, but at least Washington wasn't the enemy. It managed diplomacy and the military and ran the post office. Otherwise it pretty much left people alone.

Not now. People no longer live as they like, by standards and habits that seem right to them, within reasonable laws. We live as Washington tells us. The government tells us whom to hire, whom to sell our houses to, whether we can have the Ten Commandments on a courthouse wall or a Christmas display in the town square, what names we can call each other without going to jail, how far off the floor toilet seats have to be in factories.

Today the government regards me if not as an enemy, then as a suspect. Once at airports I got a smile and a "Welcome back." Now, going or coming, I encounter unfriendly police, semi-strip searches. I must be watched. Everywhere the cameras go in, the databases breed, the FBI reads my e-mail. Yes, I know it's because of terrorism. Yes, I know they are just doing their jobs. I don't care.

I can obey, or I can leave. I cannot like it. That is beyond me. ■

# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[*A Day Without A Mexican*]

### Dude, Where's My Carwash?

By Steve Sailer

CURRENTLY PLAYING mostly in Hispanic neighborhoods in California, "*A Day Without a Mexican*" is a fairly amusing cross between a "Twilight Zone" parable and one of Christopher Guest's satirical mockumentaries. It depicts what might happen if one sunny morning, all 12 million Latinos in the Golden State suddenly vanish into a purple haze, leaving inept gringos behind to paint their own houses (bunglingly), wash their own cars, and scrub their own toilets.

One upside is immediately clear: the non-Hispanics left behind can now commute to work at 95 mph on the empty San Diego Freeway. After awhile, though, California's whites, blacks, and Asians realize that not only are they tired of trying (and failing) to take care of themselves but that they actually miss their old Latino neighbors—maybe they wouldn't have gone if we hadn't taken them for granted. Even the film's WASP villain, the Pete Wilson look-alike governor, starts a crash project to bring the Mexicans back from the Purple Dimension.

The state's hopes are pinned on television reporter Lila Rodriguez, the last person left in California whose name ends in a "z." She nobly donates herself to play lab rat in a half-mad Japanese scientist's search for the ineffable "Latino Factor" in her genes. There, she

learns the shocking truth about herself: her real parents were immigrants from Armenia. When she was orphaned as a baby, the warm-hearted Mexican family next door adopted her. She sobs, "But my heart is Mexican!" ... and instantly disappears.

Latino audiences hoping to see a movie starring people like themselves will be stymied by the unavoidable problem that "*A Day Without a Mexican*" is, as promised, frequently a movie without a Mexican.

In case you were wondering, the Mexican screenwriters employ a definition of "Mexican" so expansive that even the Los Angeles Opera's general director, Spanish tenor Plácido Domingo, evaporates. To cover up their Mexican imperialism toward their southern neighbors, the filmmakers repeatedly joke that whites call all Hispanics "Mexicans."

The movie is unlikely to strike a nerve among non-Hispanics in the immense regions of the country where Americans take for granted that they must do all those jobs that upper-middle-class Californians assume "Americans just won't do." Nor will the movie convince the general public that Los Angeles is actually better off for having been inundated with illegal immigrants. The film metaphorically asks: What would LA look like if the federal government had been serious about enforcing the law? Like Seattle with sunshine?

"*A Day Without a Mexican*" is an obvious allegory about how a general strike among nationalistic Latinos could someday bring California to its knees. As a comedy, it's nothing special, but precisely because movies about Mexican-Americans are so rare, it offers a unique perspective on the debate over Latino separatism kicked off by Harvard professor Samuel Huntington's book *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity*.

In contrast to Huntington, the filmmakers are dismayed by how little impact the 38 million resident Hispanics are having on America's national identity. "How do you make the invisible visible?" they ask in frustration. "You take it away."

Although the press regularly twitters about the "vibrant contributions of Mexican-American culture," the hard truth is that California's main creative industries—Hollywood and Silicon Valley—pay almost no attention to Chicanos. This film's director and three screenwriters, for example, are not Mexican-Americans but famous names in Mexico City's artistic elite.

Hispanic culture thrives in Miami, the dream destination of Latin America's wealthy; but surprisingly few Mexican institutions besides churches and soccer teams prosper in LA, the first stop for the poor.

Perhaps the most insightful objection to Huntington's worries about future separatism is that the immigrants, bringing with them from Mexico bitter lessons that you can't trust anybody outside the family, do not seem able to get themselves organized enough, not the way American immigrants in 19th-century California and Texas could come together to secede from Mexico.

Today, wealthy white Californians see Mexicans as a docile and content supply of cheap servants, unlike those surly, dangerous, and ungrateful African-Americans. Yet, a race can tire of servility. Recall that just 50 years ago, whites complacently assumed that blacks would be pleased to be their cooks and gardeners forever.

We may someday look back on this little film as the first faint harbinger of a sea change in Mexican political consciousness. ■

Rated R for language and brief sexuality.



## BOOKS

*[The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West, 1917-1940, Sean McMeekin, Yale University Press, 416 pages]*

### Slick Willi

By R.J. Stove

BEFORE RUPERT MURDOCH, there was Willi Münzenberg. Without the latter, the former could never have existed. These men's worldwide influence as agit-prop tycoons far transcended the various middlebrow, predominantly middle-class endeavors of Lord Northcliffe, Lord Beaverbrook, and Henry Luce. The differences between Slick Willi and Red Rupert are trifling compared to their similarities. Both men spent their adult lives as revolution's super-salesmen: narrowly political revolution in Münzenberg's case, a wider cultural—and, above all, sexual—revolution in Murdoch's. Both men from youth proclaimed their intentions with such Iago-like directness that they made adversaries' reproaches resemble the burbling platitudes of a Cassio. Both men sincerely believed in the efficacy of their own gruesome snake-oils, and had the gravest problems in attributing criticism to any motive save malicious ignorance, although Münzenberg at times could show a certain elfish geniality.

Above all, both men appreciated, in best Screwtape fashion, the dual role that any media engineer of human souls has needed to undertake in our age. Not only must he reduce the masses to envious, incoherent beasts; he must simultaneously fulfill—as Goebbels, for instance, manifestly did not—the more rarefied demands of intelligentsias. Joe Average will adore the bread-and-circuses approach: chanting crowds, doctored photos, deliber-

ately misattributed massacres, and so on. By contrast, Joe Egghead, or anyone wishing to pass for Joe Egghead, has to be enticed with a more subtle, and increasingly incomprehensible, network of front organizations. This last truth Münzenberg perceived with a completeness that astonishes still. (Capable of keen wit, he applied to his creation of fronts the rubric “rabbit-breeding.”)

As Sean McMeekin demonstrates in his splendid new book, Münzenberg's propaganda machine offered something for almost everyone. If you belonged in the inter-war years to that always sizeable demographic whose talent for reading is unencumbered by the smallest talent for thinking, then your world was Münzenberg's oyster. In one media field alone did he, unlike Murdoch, fail: he died in 1940, too soon to have supplemented his publishing empire with a television empire. Thank God.

Born in 1889 in Erfurt, Germany, to a sadistic innkeeper—whose strange demise, while “cleaning his pistols,” foreshadowed his son's mysterious fate—Münzenberg (a gentile, contrary to subsequent Third Reich myths) actually had a working-class upbringing. This alone would have differentiated him from his fellow Old Bolsheviks, quite apart from the disparity between his own hard muscular intelligence and the myopic theorizing of a Lev Kamenev, a Grigori Zinoviev, or a Nikolai Bukharin. Among Leninist hangers-on, the one

lacking Parvus's business skills, is a testimony to his innate conspiratorial flair.

The first Münzenberg agitprop masterwork involved commandeering international aid to relieve the Soviets' 1921-1922 famine. Even Slick Willi found this assignment a tall order; repackaging Jack the Ripper as a feminist would have been, by comparison, child's play. In 1921-1922 those with any disinterested concern for Russia knew that all responsibility for creating the famine rested with the Soviets. The conga-line of clueless Western liberals who cheered on Stalin's Ukrainian genocide a decade afterwards had yet to form. Saying, therefore, “We demand you end the hunger caused by us,” savored all too obviously of the proverbial chutzpah-exemplar who murdered his parents and then pleaded for mercy as an orphan, especially after Moscow unleashed fortissimo invective against Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration. (“One must punish Hoover,” Lenin patiently explained, “one must publicly slap his face.”) War-ravaged Europe showed limited interest in offering help, as McMeekin points out: “It was hard for European workers, themselves struggling just to put food on the table, to get too excited by tales of starvation in the Volga region thousands of miles away.” For Münzenberg's career, as for Freud's, salvation came from the United States. Doughty progressives across the Atlantic—fortunate enough

### FOR MÜNZENBERG'S CAREER, AS FOR FREUD'S, SALVATION CAME FROM THE UNITED STATES.

who came closest to Münzenberg by temperament was the robber-baron Alexander Israel Helphand, code name “Parvus,” best known for organizing Lenin's “sealed train” and for uttering the immortal words, “I'm looking for a fatherland, where can I buy one cheap?” That Münzenberg matched Parvus's destructive genius, despite completely

to be confronted with no worse an Axis of Evil than Warren G. Harding—styled themselves “Friends of Soviet Russia,” donating \$125,000 to the Münzenberg cause “at a time when [he] had yet to raise \$10,000 in all of Europe.”

A lesser man might have diverted this income stream to boringly prosaic matters like paying off debt. Not so

Münzenberg, who proudly remained, to quote McMeekin again, “a stranger to corporate profits. Every business he touched—reaching across sectors as diverse as mechanized agriculture, caviar, oil, cars, cigarettes, publishing, along with film production and distribution—hemorrhaged red ink.” (Shades, once more, of Murdoch, whose Sky channel Clive James credited in 1991 with “[a] wonderful special branch of the accountant’s language, by which if the weekly loss is halved it becomes a profit, even if it is still in millions.”) Fortunately for Münzenberg, the flow of Moscow gold—in addition to letting him defy periodic denunciations from mean-spirited national Communist parties dismally lacking his own visionary showmanship—enabled him to walk tall as prototype and archetype of that quintessential post-1917 hero: the rugged individualist whose rugged individualism is propped up unceasingly by big government.

Not all of Münzenberg’s ventures into intellectual schmoozing enjoyed the success that one would gather from an earlier book on the topic, Stephen Koch’s *Double Lives*. McMeekin shows that Münzenberg and his propaganda conglomerate IAH (short for Internationale Arbeiterhilfe, “International Worker Relief”) played a much smaller role in the international agitation on Sacco’s and Vanzetti’s behalf than Koch would have us believe. Global campaigning to free Alabama’s Scottsboro Boys, which Koch portrays as a crucial Münzenberg leitmotif of the early 1930s, goes unmentioned by McMeekin. It is curious, moreover, to learn how few genuinely significant European writers he attracted. His American myrmidons might have won over Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, and Dorothy Parker (though even here he had his failures: the recalcitrance in 1932 of Theodore Dreiser, for instance). Yet first-rate European literary minds mostly proved impervious to his charm: no Chesterton, no Belloc, no Waugh, no Yeats, no Pirandello, no T.S. Eliot, no Roy Campbell, no Charles Maurras, no Paul Valéry, and no Paul Claudel came to

the party, let alone to the Party. André Gide, initially sympathetic, soon recoiled. He took one look at the workers’ paradise and uttered the Gallic equivalent of Sam Goldwyn’s epigram, “Include me out.” Among European intellectuals, Münzenberg had to make do with the loose cannon André Malraux (whose tendency to drink toasts to Trotsky when visiting the USSR made him at least as much a risk as an asset), with a dinosaur from Tsarist days (Maxim Gorky), with dreary apparatchiks (Henri Barbusse), and with manic apparatchiks (Brecht, Heinrich Mann). Still, even these figures abounded in political prestige; and with

albeit with a greater show of polemic sophistication, on the last weekend of January 1933. One final triumph of his gifts for mendacity he did vouchsafe, early in Hitler’s reign: the Brown Book, that official—and for 30 years universally trusted—Communist exercise in rewriting the history of the Reichstag Fire. (Its pages happily cited “a lengthy harangue Lenin had once devoted to the nefarious machinations of ‘rich Jews.’”)

After the Brown Book, Münzenberg rather lost his old aptitude, to the point where Barbusse began assuring Moscow, “Speaking frankly, Münzenberg’s name ... presents serious inconveniences.”

#### IT IS CURIOUS, MOREOVER, TO LEARN **HOW FEW GENUINELY SIGNIFICANT EUROPEAN WRITERS MÜNZENBERG ATTRACTED.**

Koestler, Münzenberg had a leftist adherent of lasting authorial distinction.

The Münzenberg agitprop imperium conspicuously weakened from 1936, but even before then Hitler’s ascension had severely, if secretly, wounded it. Like many another sales-whiz, Münzenberg spent far too much time talking to bother with intent listening. Thus he maintained the most childish optimism both about Hitler’s political impotence and about the chances that Germany’s Communist Party, the KPD, possessed of surviving Nazi threats unaided. Amid the Weimar Republic’s death rattle, a handful of German Communist officials—including, very briefly, the Stalinist leader Ernst Thälmann—toyed with wooing Social Democrats into an anti-Hitler coalition. For their pains they were howled down by a nomenklatura enraged at anyone even contemplating an alliance with the “social fascists.” During a 1931 public debate with the dissident Nazi Otto Strasser, Münzenberg solemnly and surrealistically announced, in words that made Franz von Papen look like the greatest Realpolitik practitioner of all time, “Hitler we can ignore.” He continued to proclaim this message,

With the IAH’s liquidation in 1935, Slick Willi forfeited his main power base. He spectacularly benefited in the short term when the Popular Front became official Soviet strategy—the job of persuading useful idiots to shriek abuse of Mussolini and Franco might have been made to order for Münzenberg’s crypto-demagogic gifts—but an increasing recklessness in his private grumbling about party tactics led to his being sharply rebuked by the Kremlin. As his reputation there waned, so that of his leading Teutonic rivals, such as future East German despot Walter Ulbricht, waxed. Once Münzenberg’s Old Bolshevik colleagues found themselves on the wrong end of the Moscow show trials, he panicked. The KPD having expelled him, he could openly condemn the Nazi-Soviet Pact with a clear conscience, though he carefully omitted from his diatribes the signing of Stalin’s first non-aggression treaty with Hitler six years before Molotov-Ribbentrop. Stuck in France at World War II’s outbreak, Münzenberg vanished shortly after the Wehrmacht conquered Paris. On Oct. 22, 1940, two hunters and their dogs in a wood near Grenoble found a corpse hanging from a

tree: "the head, left exposed to buzzards along with the rain and wind, had been stripped to the bone." Only the papers on the body revealed Münzenberg's identity. The likeliest explanation for his death is that NKVD goons slew him, as a low-key counterpart to their renowned visitation of Trotsky. Nevertheless a verdict of suicide suited officialdom much better. It suited the NKVD itself, naturally, but it also suited Vichy's policemen, fearing a Gestapo invasion of their turf, as would certainly have happened once word leaked out that a world-famous German refugee had been assassinated.

To finish *The Red Millionaire* is to be dazed with sorrow. All that energy that Münzenberg expended; all that intense, if hopelessly shallow, brainwork, and with what aim? That the most loathsome and lethal régime ever inflicted upon men—at least until Mao showed a reverential world what mass extermination could really achieve—might shine in the eyes of the public with a greater refugence. Entrapped in his dialectical-materialist squalor, Münzenberg knew nothing of the heroic faith that sustained Stalinism's great religious victims, such as the Orthodox Solzhenitsyn, the Catholic Mindszenty, and the Protestant Richard Wurmbrand. Maybe in his last conscious moments, as the noose tightened around his neck, Münzenberg felt a surge of contrition for so brilliantly upholding "the culture of the lie." It would be agreeable to think so; it would also be unjustified by a scrap of available evidence.

Rebecca West, in *The Meaning of Treason*, observed: "What is the sin against the Holy Ghost? It is perhaps to deal with people as if they were things." Let that be the epitaph for Willi Münzenberg, puppet-master extraordinaire, who never imagined—till too late—that Stalin would lean over the proscenium arch and cut the marionettes' threads, one by one by one. ■

*R.J. Stove lives in Melbourne, Australia and is the author of The Unsleping Eye: Secret Police and Their Victims.*

[*The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership*, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Basic Books, 242 pages]

## Dr. Zbig's Empire Lite

By Leon Hadar

SINCE YOU ARE READING this review in *The American Conservative*, there is a good chance that you opposed the invasion of Iraq and reject the neoconservative agenda of establishing a U.S.-controlled Global Democratic Empire. So I bring you some good news. After reading Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski's most recent Big Ideas and Deep Thoughts on America's place in the world, the future of the universe, and life on Mars, I can report to you that one of Washington's top Wise Men, who is admired by both Democrats and Republicans, shares your views.

If it had been up to "Zbig," America would not have launched a unilateral military operation to oust Saddam Hussein and occupy Iraq. The former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter and architect of the historic 1979 peace accord between Israel and Egypt would have applied American power to force Ariel Sharon to start making real concessions to the Palestinians. And the renowned Polish-American political scientist makes it clear that he is against the neoconservative strategy that "relies largely on assertive domination based on might."

It is heartening that someone like Brzezinski, who is not only affiliated with the Council on Foreign Relations but is also one of the founders of the Trilateral Commission, agrees with you. It means that the opposition to the neoconservative fantasy is not only becoming mainstream but is gradually taking hold over "elite" thinking.

But don't get too excited because here is the bad news. Dr. B, who is all of the above and more, and would probably

have some impact on the making of the foreign policy of a John Kerry administration or on that of a second term of a (wishing and hoping and praying) Realpolitik-oriented George W. Bush administration, believes that with a little help from our European friends Washington would be able to promote its global hegemony, also known as "leadership," worldwide. "American global hegemony is now a fact of life" and "no one, including America, has any choice in the matter."

The choice, as Brzezinski explains it, is not whether America should be a hegemon or not. It should. "The real choices pertain to how America should exercise its hegemony, how and with whom that hegemony might be shared, and to what ultimate goals it should be dedicated," he concludes. He wants to see the emergence of American "primacy," "hegemony," "leadership," and "unprecedented global power" based on "consensual leadership enhancing America's status as the world's sole superpower." American hegemony is a "worldwide reality," Brzezinski asserts. It's a political-military axiom that we have to take for granted and we must decide whether it should be "boastfully declared" (the neocon choice) or "subtly exercised" (Brzezinski's choice).

Here the reader might think, "All of this sounds to me like empire." But Zbig dares not call it empire. Instead, he argues that if Washington follows his prescriptions, America will become what he calls "a Superpower Plus." Perhaps a more appropriate term would be "Empire Lite." In fact, in one of his many exercises in dialectical thinking, Brzezinski suggests that the neoconservative imperial strategy is pregnant with its own self-igniting process of declinism, while his more cost-effective approach to hegemony would ensure that America would remain the top dog long after your grandkids return from their peacekeeping service in the Greater Middle East, in Tajikistan or Georgia or Ukraine (which happen to be the places our Polish-American scholar wants to see a large U.S. military

presence, since it would irritate the Russians).

To put it differently, if we take the neoconservative road, we are bound to erode American diplomatic, military, and economic power and make it more difficult to maintain U.S. hegemony in the long run. The result would be that

he emphasizes the need for the United States to play a more active role in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thus weakening the power of anti-American forces in the Arab and Muslim world.

He deplores "the U.S. inclination, in the spring of 2002, to embrace even the

strengthening American military and political ties with the Saudis, the Egyptians, and the Pakistanis, and helping to build-up and arm the mujaheddin in Afghanistan as part of the anti-Soviet strategy during the last years of the Cold War. And this, as we know, was the environment in which Osama bin Laden and his gang appeared and the outlines of the "blowback" in New York and Washington were drawn.

An argument can be made that the policy of allying America with those bad guys was necessary and that it proved effective as part of the Cold War strategy. But Brzezinski is suggesting that we continue to maintain strong ties with Mubarak and Musharraf and the Saudis and even recommends that we establish new alliances with other Muslim autocrats in those "Stans" he describes as the "Global Balkans" that stretches from Morocco to India. At the same time, he calls on America to help accelerate the process of reform and secularization in the Muslim world as part of a strategy to confront the sources of Islamic radicalism that help breed terrorism. But the problem is that it's the links with the Mubaraks, the Musharrafs, and the Saudis that, together with American support for Israel, are the root causes of anti-American sentiments. To achieve primacy, you have to repress those who

**TERRORISM IS NOT AN ENEMY, BRZEZINSKI STRESSES. "NO ONE WOULD HAVE DECLARED AT THE OUTSET OF WORLD WAR II THAT THE WAR WAS BEING FOUGHT AGAINST 'BLITZKRIEG.'"**

America would turn into "a Superpower Minus." Therefore, if you want the U.S. to remain the dominant global power for centuries to come, your choice would be the user-friendly American hegemony that Zbig proposes, one that would make Europeans, Middle Easterners, and Asians more inclined to accept the notion of American Empire—oops... sorry!—primacy.

The book relies on complex sentences with all the mumbo-jumbo that tends to turn on political scientists. But while much as Brzezinski's critique of the Bushies is couched in civil prose, it is quite hard-hitting, if not devastating, as he lashes out against the administration's post-9/11 "war on terrorism" and its "theological" approach against the "evildoers." Culminating in the "axis of evil" formulation, "the American perspective on terrorism increasingly came to be viewed as divorced from terrorism's political context." As a result, "the nearly unanimous support for America [after 9/11] gave way to increasing skepticism regarding the official U.S. formulation of the shared threat." Terrorism in itself is not an enemy, Brzezinski stresses. "One does not wage a war against a technique or a tactic," he explains. "No one, for instance, would have declared at the outset of World War II that the war was being fought against 'blitzkrieg.'" Instead, he says, a "careful political strategy is needed in order to weaken the complex political and cultural forces that give rise to terrorism." In particular,

more extreme forms of Israeli suppression of the Palestinians as part of the struggle against terrorism." The unwillingness of the Bush administration "to recognize a historical connection between the rise of anti-American terrorism and America's involvement in the Middle East makes the formulation of an effective strategic response to terrorism much more difficult."

All of that is true. But Brzezinski seems to underestimate the role that U.S. support for authoritarian regimes in the Arab and Muslim world played in igniting the anti-American sentiments that led to 9/11. As national security adviser, Brzezinski was the driving force in the Carter administration for

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are opposed to the your interests. Hence, the internal contradiction in the progressive domination project that Brzezinski promotes, not unlike that in the neocons' democratic empire scheme. And the bottom line is that this Empire Lite could end up costing significant American blood and money.

The main question is why Americans should continue sustaining this global "primacy" or "hegemony" status now that the Cold War is over. Why should we extend the post-Cold War "unilateral moment" even under the Brzezinski

primarily on its national power to insulate itself from the international anarchy that would follow a disengagement," Brzezinski warns us.

Really? A gradual U.S. military disengagement could actually give rise to new balance-of-power systems and security arrangements in the Middle East, Asia, and Europe that would help to maintain stability in those regions. Why shouldn't the Europeans, whose economies are dependent on oil from the Persian Gulf (in contrast to the United States, which receives less than

the history of the world. Neither Rome nor ancient Peking—both the capitals of regional empires—nor Victorian London (except perhaps in international banking) even came close to matching the concentration of global power and decision making in a few square blocks of downtown Washington. Decisions made within two overlapping but relatively tight triangles project U.S. power worldwide and heavily influence the way globalization evolves." These two triangles "together signal the degree to which traditional 'foreign affairs' have become inside-the-beltway affairs." And it's inside these two triangles that Brzezinski and his Beltway pals, Republicans and Democrats, in the White House and the Pentagon, neoconservatives and liberal internationalists, residents of the American Enterprise Institute and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, columnists for the *Weekly Standard* and the *New Republic*, have built lucrative careers.

If Americans choose to end the process of empire-building and to initiate instead a policy of "constructive disengagement," that would clearly be bad news for Brzezinski and the establishment elites, since it would mean that there would be fewer government jobs and contracts to fill, less consulting and lobbying work to do, fewer business deals to make, and fewer columns, memoirs, and Big Ideas books to write. In short, there would be less influence to sell and less prestige to win. But for the rest of the American people that choice would mean fewer wars to fight and fewer taxes to pay, which shows that the real choice is not between Superpower Plus and Super Minus, or even between Zbigniew Brzezinski and Condoleezza Rice (although at this historical juncture I would choose Dr. B. over Dr. C.), but between Empire and Republic. ■

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## WHY SHOULDN'T WE ENCOURAGE THE EVOLUTION OF A—EXCUSE MY FRENCH—MULTIPOLAR WORLD IN WHICH AMERICA WOULD BE ABLE TO PROTECT ITS CORE NATIONAL INTERESTS?

strategy, which assumes that the Europeans would agree to share some of the costs? Well, because America and the world don't have really any other choice (as opposed to the choice we do have in managing that dominant role, that is, Zbig's Superpower Plus vs. the neocons' Superpower Minus).

Imagine, he speculates, that Congress were to mandate the retraction of U.S. military power from its three crucial deployments in Europe, the Far East, and the Persian Gulf. Any such withdrawal "would without doubt plunge the world almost immediately into a politically chaotic crisis." He draws the following scenario, which is supposed to make us very afraid. In Europe, there would be a rush by some to rearm but also to reach a special arrangement with Russia. In the Far East, war would probably break out on the Korean peninsula while Japan would undertake a crash program of rearmament, including nuclear weapons. In the Persian Gulf, Iran would become dominant and would intimidate the adjoining Arab states. "Given the foregoing, the long-term strategic alternatives for America are either to engage in a gradual, carefully managed transformation of its own supremacy into a self-sustaining international system, or to rely

20 percent of its oil from that region), pay the costs of maintaining security in that region? Why shouldn't Russia apply its own form of the Monroe Doctrine in its "near abroad" regions in the Caucasus and Central Asia? Why wouldn't we want to see the emergence of a new security system in Asia involving China, Japan, and Korea? Why shouldn't we encourage the evolution of a—excuse my French—multipolar world in which America would be able to protect its core national interests like defending the homeland while co-operating with allies around the world in dealing with common threats?

I suspect that the reason Brzezinski and his buddies in the foreign-policy establishment do not like the idea has less to do with their fear of chaos and more with their concern that a lower global political-military profile by the United States would demonstrate that other countries can actually prosper without American "leadership," which happens to be the product that Brzezinski and the rest of the members of the Washington elite provide.

Here is how Brzezinski describes the U.S. capital in a somewhat lyrical tribute to American global power. "Washington, DC, is the first global political capital in

[*Deliver Us From Evil: Defeating Terrorism, Despotism, and Liberalism*, Sean Hannity, Regan Books, 352 pages]

## Hate Clinton, Love Churchill

By Matthew Bargarier

ONE GETS A FEEL for this book before turning the first numbered page. First, there's the cover photo of the author with the Statue of Liberty for a backdrop, earnest sunshine beaming from his head. Then there's the title. With the release of Bill O'Reilly's *Those Who Trespass*, Fox News alone has two current bestsellers with names copped from the Lord's Prayer, surely one of the least obscure references in the Western world. Yet Sean Hannity employs that august passage for an epigraph, with the title phrase in bold, just in case his readers' short-term memory is as poor as he imagines their cultural literacy to be. But not until the preface does one fully grasp the mental bludgeoning in store, when Hannity depicts Saddam Hussein's capture as follows: "He was cornered like a rat, caught in a lizard's den, in a spider hole."

To be fair, these are only stylistic gripes about a book that makes good on its one ambition. That ambition is not timelessness, by the way—if you plan to give *Deliver Us From Evil* as a gift, I suggest you shoot for Father's Day; it will curdle long before Christmas. And don't bother giving it to anyone who isn't voting for President Bush already, for nothing in it is meant to persuade. What Hannity has succeeded in producing is a set of snappy comebacks to use on the co-worker who won't stop dropping nuggets from that Al Franken book. A more accurate subtitle would have been *Appeasement and the Appeasing Appeasers Who Do It*. The word turns up in various forms over 60 times in less than 300 pages, and that's not counting quotations or the use of synonyms such

as "accommodation." The specter of ur-appeaser Neville Chamberlain debuts on page three and provides grave historical context for every accusation thereafter. For today's interventionists, it's always 1938 somewhere. Keep your eyes peeled for "pure human wickedness" and evil so "absolute and aggressive" as to be "unimaginabl[e]."

Hannity names the chief sources of such evil in chapter one, "Terrorism, Despotism, and Liberalism." Since his book is all about helping you devour that Franken-quoter in the next cubicle, he begins with the liberals. Evil exists (as anecdotes about a suicide attempt, a cheating pharmacist, and a molesting priest attest), but most liberals deny it or excuse its perpetrators. We see it all the time in the courts, don't we? As OJ runs cover in the subtext, Hannity slips a dove from his shirtsleeve: Saddam Hussein was behind al-Qaeda. Proof:

Saddam has expressed admiration for the 9/11 attacks, and bin Laden has praised the Iraqi resistance. And neither side would hesitate for a moment to cooperate with the other if it served their common, murderous ends. With Saddam Hussein's ability to manufacture WMDs, and al Qaeda's ability to deliver them under the radar, surely neither side could resist the temptation forever.

Hannity fans know how to cut through the legalese. You don't have to show them a picture of Osama and Saddam playing touch football at the Kennedy compound—they have already drawn their own. This book works because it leaves no preconception unconfirmed.

It also works because it slaloms down the course so quickly that every red flag becomes a blur. Why, for instance, are some Arabs and Muslims so hostile toward the United States? No, no, those aren't explanations we're whizzing past, they're excuses for terrorism. Hannity mentions U.S. support for Israel as a motive for the 9/11 attacks only once, and even then he makes it sound as if

that support is only moral. He depicts an "antiwar lunatic fringe" bursting with villains from Hollywood and academia, but he completely ignores the antiwar Right and its criticisms of President Bush. He makes no reference whatsoever to David Frum's "unpatriotic conservatives," a blacklist that includes the most prominent names at this magazine. Is Hannity afraid his audience might be swayed by conservative and libertarian arguments that interventionism makes America less free and no safer? He never takes that chance, choosing wisely to frame the debate as one between "realists" like himself and "mindless pacifis[ts]." The term "neoconservative" appears only once, in quotation marks to denote a tinge of liberal paranoia.

Of course, the author makes some points that few on the Right would dispute. For instance, after blessing Bill Clinton's foreign meddling, most Democrats have no room to blast George W. Bush's. Those who voted to authorize the use of force against Iraq—sound familiar, Senator Kerry?—deserve contempt for cashing in on the backlash now. The multilateralism they tout is a dubious cure for what ails us; it saps our national sovereignty without decreasing our foreign entanglements. The United Nations is corrupt and ineffectual at best, and the U.S. should withdraw post-haste. Finally, Bill and Hillary have done some awful things and no doubt hope to do many more.

Yes, the Clintons are loathsome, but one of their least palatable byproducts has been the Clinton-bashing industry. Witness a generation of commentators who have read nothing but each other's broadsides, pundits who might be hosting "Morning Drive Time with Goober and Bonzo" in some lonesome nowhere were it not for the Dark Lords of Little Rock, a sex scandal, and a tabloid billionaire with a 24-hour cycle to fill. Having first struck crude with the Clintons, they keep returning to the well. (Hannity stuck his straw down the pipe and slurped up much of his first book, as well as a whole chapter of this one.) But with one bogeyman exiled in Harlem

and the other in check until 2008, the professional Clinton-haters need a new cause that favors the shrill over the thoughtful and informed. The War on Terror, nay, on Evil itself, came just in time, and that is why they sincerely love the oilman from Texas. He has given them another gusher.

*Deliver Us From Evil* is but one drop in the torrent, but it's not without instructional value. Unlike, say, *An End to Evil*, in which policy wonks Richard Perle and David Frum hand down talking points to op-ed writers, Hannity's polemic aims directly at the conservative base. All of the Hannity audience's foreign-policy fallacies and inconsistencies can be found within, beginning with the liberal red herring.

Let's go back to those indisputable points listed above for just a moment. Hannity would have us believe that because liberals have flip-flopped on foreign affairs since the '90s, they are the ones worthy of scorn. Didn't most conservatives think the liberals were wrong back then? Today, it is often Republicans who are keen on interventionism, from pre-emption to nation-building. They even dig multilateralism and the UN, though they can't quite bring themselves to say so. Hannity, for instance, sneers at both, but he justifies the Iraq War with appeals to the coalition and Saddam's disregard for UN resolutions. He also proclaims America the world's policeman and repeatedly chides Clinton for staying out of Rwanda. And we're supposed to worry about the liberals?

This sounds like conservatism for simpletons, and Hannity practically begs us to call him one, thereby revealing the Ben & Jerry's and Birkenstocks within our Ikea hearts. Consider this paean to fairy tales:

They may be 'stories,' but they deal with the basic truths of life—things like courage and fear, hope and despair, loyalty and betrayal. We adults aren't always so in touch with these truths; we're more likely to rationalize them away. We can

turn a lie into 'opinion,' or cowardice into 'reasonable caution,' or betrayal into 'the only sensible thing to do given the circumstances.'...

Of course, great moments in history, like fairy tales, also have a way of distilling things down to their essence. While we're living these moments, we adults can't always appreciate them. It takes time, and sometimes a different perspective, to see them clearly. The story of Sir Winston Churchill, for example ...

His infatuation with Churchill underscores the need for that icon's reappraisal on the Right, but it also belies Hannity's professed simplicity. Make no mistake, this is a nuanced guy. This "moral absolutist" adores a man who pioneered chemical warfare and state-sponsored terror. In a rare moment of bipartisanship, Hannity even praises Dick Gephardt for voting to fund the production of nerve gas in the early '80s. What about the author's belief in universal democracy and human rights? The Shah of Iran "wasn't a perfect ruler," but he was our buddy. U.S. support for Saddam way back when? Our government had "no choice but to align itself with Iran's neighboring enemy, in order to prevent Iran, a terrorist powerhouse, from winning the war." And today? "With the defeat of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, Iran is poised to become the dominant power in the Middle East." So we must again fight Iran by any means necessary.

This recipe for perpetual war owes nothing to the conservative tradition. Judging by what he has written, Hannity's knowledge of the Old Right would fit in a thimble, with room to stretch. Though he has no idea why those bad old "isolationists" opposed intervention and empire, his book is a handy reminder for the rest of us. ■

*Matthew Barganier is an editor for Antiwar.com. He lives in Baton Rouge, La.*

## MUSIC

### More Joe, Less Janet

By Mark Gauvreau Judge

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS once noted that arguably the most fallacious line ever uttered was F. Scott Fitzgerald's *bon mot* that "there are no second acts in American life." As Hitchens pointed out, sometimes it seems that America is nothing but second acts: political pundit Dick Morris gets caught with a prostitute and falls all the way to a plush spot on Fox News. Janet Jackson offends a nation and is penalized with an appearance on "Good Morning America." I'm still waiting for OJ to appear on his own talk show.

So where is Joe Jackson's encore? Many of this gifted musician's albums are in limbo, sitting in a Universal Records vault somewhere. You can't even download them. This is the kind of thing, in the age of Britney, that makes a music fan despair. If it wasn't obvious to everyone from the start, he is one the finest pop music songwriters of the last 40 years. He confused people because he was both ahead of and behind the times.

One of Jackson's albums, *Night and Day*, was recently reissued in a remastered edition, and two things are astounding about it: the quality of the music and the relevance, more than 20 years later, of the themes. Jackson is a musical polymath, and *Night and Day* has Latin rhythm ("Target"), new-wave bounce ("T.V. Age"), soft funk (the hit "Steppin' Out") and, perhaps most importantly, ballads ("Breaking Us in Two," "A Slow Song") inspired by Gershwin, Cole Porter, and other pre-rock masters of American popular song. *Sans* guitars and driven by Jackson's sharp piano playing and use of music forms from every place and time that Jackson found interesting, *Night and Day* should

have sounded about 40 years behind the times. Yet today it is one of the very few popular music albums of the 1980s that still sounds as good as the week it was released. Scratch that; in the age of soulless soul—Janet and moron rap/rock—*Night and Day* is a revelation.

Remember when the purpose of an album was to take you on an imaginative journey in a suite of songs, all brought to you in an attractive sleeve? Perhaps the answer to the crumbling record sales in the age of iPod is to sell albums that aspire to what *Night and Day* is—a complete package, from the Hirshfeld-inspired cover art to the intelligent liner notes to the sequence of songs that knows when to wrap things up. We used to trust our artists to take us on a trip with their albums, one that would not go on endlessly. (Why don't the Janet Jacksons of this world understand that just because a CD can fit 75 minutes does not mean that it has to be that long and that larding a disc ruins everything?) *Night and Day* is, if my Bose is to be trusted, 42 minutes and six seconds long. I submit that this is the exact amount of time necessary to absorb an album. The number should be in the musicians' guidebook.

When the laser hit the disc on *Night and Day* something happened to me that hadn't happened listening to a rock album in years: my imagination took flight. In the opener, "Another World," I saw my return a few years ago to Catholicism, which involves literally another world. I also saw Jackson, the young British expatriate, in pre-Giuliani New York, tired of London, maybe depressed, and walking up a rainy, neon Fifth Avenue. In the song, Jackson offers a piano riff that plays on an Asian theme, foreshadowing the next cut, "Chinatown." There Jackson is still stumbling his way through the big city ("I'm nervous and I'm lost .... Trying to find Chinatown.")

After "T.V. Age," a prescient satire of an indolent, TV-sated country ("Who needs to go out/We have HBO!"), he returns to urban paranoia with "Target." But then comes the bubbling, sexy glide

of "Steppin' Out," which launches the album into a realm that was bracing and countercultural in 1982 and is even more so today. In the liner notes to the remastered edition, Jackson expresses his disgust for the people—fans, record-company PR executives, MTV—who wanted to make him a new-wave star. They weren't interested in truly eclectic and democratic music that could reach into the past as well as other cultures. (Musician Sue Hadjopoulos is credited with "congas, bongos, timbales, orchestra bells, xylophone, miscellaneous percussion, flute and vocals.") More than anything, they didn't want music that was elegant. And "Steppin' Out," with its piano chimes and images of the city as a romantic playground that cures sorrow, was—is—elegant. More than 20 years on, the lyrics still freeze the heart with their plaintive beauty:

Now—

The mist across the window hides the lines

But nothing hides the colour

Of the lights that shine

Look and dry your eyes

Then, at the end of the song:

You—Can dress in pink and blue

Just like a child

And in a yellow taxi turn to me and smile

We'll be there in just a while

If you follow me

Flannery O'Connor once said that in a decadent culture, when talking about things like faith and beauty sometimes you have to shout. Yet sometimes a whisper is even more shocking. As Jackson sings, I am in that cab, hearing the low hiss of tires on wet city streets, transcended by the smile of the woman I'm with—and I do mean woman. Jackson may or may not have foreseen our increasingly infantile culture, but it is no small thing that this is a song about adults. The woman is not dressed like a child—one thinks of certain rappers with their oversized pants—but in colors that are juvenile. They are entering the adult playground of the city at night.

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Because Universal is not releasing many of Jackson's albums—including two of the best, *Big World* and *Laughter and Lust*—the only way to hear some of his best songs is on Jackson's live recordings. Unlike most popular artists, Jackson prefers to play live; call him the anti-Britney. His best live album is 2000's *Summer in the City*, where he flawlessly mingles jazz (Duke Ellington's "Mood Indigo"), 1960s pop ("Summer in the City," the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby"), punk ("One More Time"), and Latin music ("You Can't Get What You Want") with his own compositions. It's the move of a gutsy musician. Putting your own stuff next to Ellington and Lennon and McCartney is asking for the hook, but Jackson's material holds up, particularly the ballad "Be My Number Two," which has a piano riff that bypasses pop and approaches Schubert. It's that good.

Like many renegade artists rejected by the masses, the masses in this case meaning MTV and its minions, Jackson has hunkered down on the Internet (joe-jackson.com), where he issues songs and tells visitors that no, he has no idea

when or if Universal will release his older albums. A couple of years ago, he released two live albums on the Net, and the good and decent jazz label Koch has now issued them as one album, *Two Rainy Nights: Live in Seattle & Portland*. It contains renditions of many of

Elvis Costello, who, like Jackson, was never really punk and quickly developed into a marvelous and sophisticated songwriter who could hop genres. (He even recorded a country album, *Almost Blue*.) Yet Costello's old albums don't hold up the way Jackson's do. And after years of

THE BALLAD "BE MY NUMBER TWO," HAS A PIANO RIFF THAT BYPASSES POP AND APPROACHES SCHUBERT. IT'S THAT GOOD.

his best songs, some of which are of recent vintage. There is a glittering take on "Happyland," a song that appeared on *Night and Day II*, which was released in 2000. The song was written in the wake of a fatal nightclub fire in New York City. Like most of Jackson's songs, it should have been a hit.

The crescendo of *Two Rainy Nights* is also the zenith of *Night and Day*, Jackson's masterpiece "A Slow Song." How this piece has not made it into the play list of every jazz singer in America is beyond me, but it belongs with Ellington and Strayhorn, Porter, and Gershwin. Jackson is no conservative—though he recently launched an anti-anti-smoking campaign in New York against Mayor Bloomberg—but it is a deeply conservative song, even a conservative anthem. Jackson, "brutalized by bass and terrorized by treble," explains that he and his wife, when they get home after a long day, "dance, not fight." They want to go out and be elevated, not debased. In an act of outright rebellion against the rock culture, he "pushes right through" to the DJ and demands, "play us a slow song."

It's a real tribute to Jackson that his songs still sound fresh when so many of his contemporaries, not to mention the current top 40, are offering the most insipid, forgettable fare. When Jackson emerged in the late 1970s he was considered one of a new breed of "angry young men" in rock and roll, musicians influenced by punk and with no tolerance for hippies and tired top-40 radio.

One of these angry young men was

mediocre albums—including last's years horrible *North*, which was like chugging a pint of liquid valium—Costello is writing songs with his wife, the jazz pianist and singer Diana Krall. The result is Krall's album *The Girl in the Other Room*. It's thoroughly mediocre. Krall plays what I call meta-music: music that has completely lost the ability to inspire because it cannot or will not break out of its genre's limitations or try to infuse the form with new life. Krall is in the jazz museum, so all the inventiveness Jackson brings to his creations—beats from around the world and every musical era, the smart use of a synthesizer, topical lyrics—is missing. Jackson's music is crammed with energy and self-assured in its ardent embrace of beauty and the world; it knows it's good, which makes it even more attractive. Krall plays those same old bluesy riffs, trying to conjure film-noir and smoky clubs and getting lawn furniture and Borders on a Wednesday night.

Meanwhile, Jackson continues to look ahead. He has recently signed with the scrappy independent label Rykodisc and has released *Volume 4*, a strong album that boasts a genuinely brave protest song called "Thugs R Us," which condemns the rap industry. Don't look for airplay or an invitation from "Saturday Night Live," Joe. ■

Mark Gauvreau Judge is the author of *Damn Senators: My Grandfather and the Story of Washington's Only World Series Championship* and *If It Ain't Got That Swing*.

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# My Dinner With Pamela Gross-Finkelstein



At a sugar magnate's posh dinner party in New York City last week, the lady on my right had just called Ariel Sharon a war criminal and a terrorist. I looked

at her place card: Pamela Gross-Finkelstein. "You're not German, by any chance?" I asked her. "No, I'm New York Jewish—and not a self-loathing one either," came the answer. Pamela and I hit it off after that, as I did with the rest of the table—most of them very rich and Jewish—who happened to agree. Now I don't usually report on private dinner conversations, but this was a breakthrough. It's not everyday that someone, Jewish or otherwise, can criticize Likud and stay standing.

The fact that a few educated people in New York are starting to see the light gives me hope, however slight. Israel is acting in an outrageous, illegal, and criminal manner. Sharon is a disgrace, and the only thing he has managed to accomplish is to scare both Bush and Kerry into keeping their mouths shut, until Nov. 2, that is. Then he will begin his blackmailing all over again. At the American Israel Public Affairs Committee convention in the nation's capital a couple of weeks ago, both Tom DeLay and George W. Bush made it very clear: as goes Israel, so goes America. New York's Mayor Bloomberg repeated the mantra during the Israel parade on Fifth Avenue a few days later.

If one had been asleep for the last 56 years and had just woken up, a-la-Rip Van Winkle, you'd think Colorado was under attack. The only trouble is that Israel is not America's 51st state, AIPAC or no AIPAC. Israeli soldiers, backed by tanks and helicopter gunships, fired on a peaceful demonstration killing 40 people and injuring hundreds, most of them teenagers and children, and Bush called the massacre "troubling," a telling reaction. I have not heard Bush's response to

the killing of a 3-year-old Palestinian girl the day after the demonstration, and it's just as well. He most likely would have asked for a clarification. Was the 3-year-old playing with her pigtails, or was she crawling on all fours?

However you cut it—and believe me, the Israeli lobby and the neocons are spinning like they've never spun before—this was an unprovoked attack against unarmed and peaceful demonstrators. Raanan Gissin, spokesman for Sharon, expressed regret at the deaths but denied that Israeli forces had planned to shoot into crowds. So there you have it. Shoot first, express your regrets, deny meaning to do it, and everything is hunky-dory.

The name of the raid into Gaza speaks volumes: Operation Rainbow. Some rainbow for the Palestinian mothers who lost their children. When Bob Novak expressed outrage about this on his "Capital Gang" program, *National*

kills with impunity in the name of self-defense; the others are all terrorists. Sharon and his fellow Likudniks, Begin and Shamir—terrorists too, it should be said—have been playing this card since the birth of Israel. Accidents do happen during civil unrest, but no army shoots unarmed demonstrators. During the German occupation of Greece, when the hunger marches would take place, children and wounded soldiers in wheelchairs were in the front of the demonstrations. No German trooper ever fired. In Gaza, the Israelis even managed to kill some 70 animals, including a parrot, a couple of jaguars, and a few ostriches. 'Twas a famous victory against a zoo.

Some 2,018 houses in Gaza have been bulldozed by the Israelis, and 18,382 people are now homeless. The Israeli Defense Force plans to demolish hundreds more homes. And this is in Gaza, where Sharon has decided to pull out. I wonder what it would be like if he had stayed?

In his poignant review of Richard Ben Cramer's wonderful book *How Israel Lost* in these pages two issues ago, Scott McConnell explained how Israel went

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*Review's* Kate O'Beirne countered with the story of an Israeli mother who was murdered along with her three children in cold blood a week before. It was a good response but had nothing to do with an army, mostly financed by Uncle Sam, shooting tank shells and missiles from a gunship against unarmed demonstrators. One was a cold-blooded murder committed by a terrorist, the other was cold-blooded multi-murder committed by a terrorist regime.

Therein lies the difference. One party

from a noble experiment to an oppressor of three million mostly innocent Palestinians. The state of Israel was established by an act of international brigandage with America and Europe assuaging their guilt by forcing their will upon an innocent Palestinian people. Instead of Israel now pulling back and compensating the Palestinians for their suffering and for their loss of dignity and humanity, the settlers and their right-wing extremists want more. Time to pull the plug, Uncle Sam. ■

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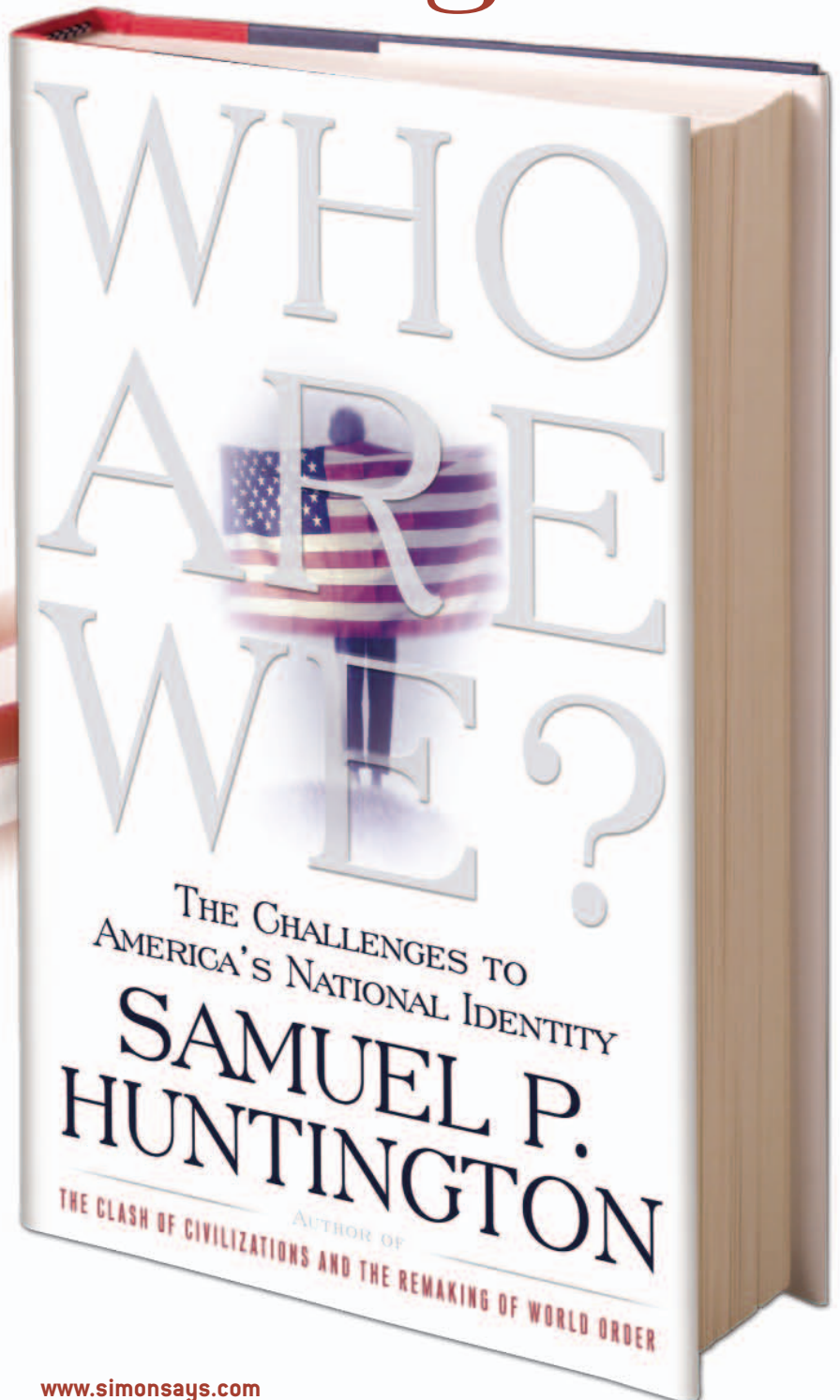
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